

Home is
where the
work is

PAGE 12

IN THESE TIMES

VOL. 11, NO. 39

OCTOBER 14-20, 1987

\$1.25

AIDS:



Fear
and loathing
in the medical
community

by
Dan
DeNoon
page 6

Football strike
Fourth and long

PAGE 3

Consumers beware:
Don't eat the vegetables

PAGE 8



Nicaraguan Vice President Sergio Ramirez: "A climate of peace is necessary to hold regional elections to install the Central American Parliament."

Mel Rosenthal

Building the foundation for a 'United States of Central America'

By Kevin Robinson

GUATEMALA CITY

The regional peace pact in Central America provided new impetus for negotiated solutions for the civil wars in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala. Broad measures in those countries to reach cease-fires by the accord's November 7 deadline have captured world headlines. But the pact, signed in August, also spurred efforts by the Central American countries to fortify regional political and economic integration and lay the basis for peaceful coexistence and cooperation in the long term.

INSIDE STORY

At a two-day conference of vice presidents and congressional representatives held here in early October, the Central American countries unanimously agreed to form the Central American Parliament, the first regional legislative assembly since the 19th century. The formation of the parliament, along with recent other meetings of economic authorities whose goal is to eventually reactivate the Central

American Common Market (CACM) and promote regional development projects, generated widespread optimism over the success of the regional peace negotiations.

But diplomats here still warn that if the peace plan collapses, the parliament, which must receive its final stamp of approval from the congresses and presidents of each country, could also collapse.

Guatemalan President Vinicio Cerezo originally proposed the parliament's formation at the first meeting of the Central American presidents in May 1986. "President Cerezo conceived of a regional parliament that could eventually guide us toward the creation of the United States of Central America, as we once were last century," Guatemala's vice president, Roberto Carpio, told *In These Times*. "The parliament would be a permanent forum for discussion, allowing Central Americans to resolve our own problems among ourselves."

In 1986 the presidents designated a "preparatory commission"—incorporating the Central American vice presidents, foreign ministers and three deputies from each country's legislative assembly—to draw up the parliament's basic statutes. But negotiations stagnated until August's signing of the regional peace pact, which calls for the parliament's creation by early next year.

At a September meeting the Central American vice presidents ironed out the parliament's statutes, which the preparatory commission finally approved early this month. Although the statutes must be legally ratified by each country, diplomats at the conference predicted little opposition by legislative assemblies.

"The peace accord provided a boost of energy, and since August we've advanced enormously," said Vice President Carpio. "Now all that's left is the final ratification."

Regional shield: The parliament, modeled on the European parliamentary system, will include a general assembly made up of 20 representatives from each nation, a vice presidential summit and a presidential summit. The general assembly will meet one month per year (although special sessions could be called) to review regional political, economic, social, cultural and security affairs. Its recommendations will then be considered by the vice presidential and, finally, presidential summits for ratification into regional treaties.

"The Central American Parliament in part will imitate the European Economic Community, which incorporates a series of community institutions that transcend borders for the common good of all," Carlos Rivera, Costa Rica's deputy foreign minister, told *In These Times*. "The parliament and the vice presidential and presidential summits form a system through which to implement community action, seeking common development through Central American integration."

The parliament's immediate function will be to promote

political stability by developing and maintaining democratic processes throughout the region. Parliamentary representatives, for example, will be elected in each country for five-year periods, with the first elections to be held sometime next year.

Indeed, the regional peace pact, which commits its signatories to carry out general elections periodically, and respect political pluralism, emphasizes next year's parliamentary elections as the first "joint demonstrations of the will to seek reconciliation and peace in Central America."

"The parliament will be a shield against *coup d'etats*, upholding democratic concepts, because nobody can overthrow a region-wide institution," said Vice President Carpio.

In fact, the preparatory commission increased the proposal of 10 representatives per nation to 20 to allow broader and more just participation in elections.

"With 10 representatives, the smallest parties would not have a fair chance," Nicaraguan Vice President Sergio Ramirez told *In These Times*. "But with 20 candidates to the parliament the smallest parties will have a greater opportunity to win seats, thereby guaranteeing more pluralist representation."

In the long term, the parliament will also be responsible for promoting and supervising regional development projects that emphasize economic and social integration. Measures to reactivate the Central American Common Market, for example, will be a hot agenda item.

The CACM, created in the early '60s to develop local markets for products through special trade agreements, spurred regional commerce throughout the last two decades. Trade through the CACM grew from \$30 million in 1960 to a peak value of \$1.2 billion in 1980, but then plummeted when the world economic crisis set in. CACM trade last year was only \$360 million, less than a third of the 1980 value.

"Instead of increasing regional unity, the CACM has virtually fallen apart," said Costa Rica's Rivera. "The parliament should help seek mechanisms to reactivate the common market."

Toward independence: Meanwhile, economic authorities are already drawing up regional development projects. The Central American economic ministers will participate in the next foreign ministers' meeting in San Jose, Costa Rica, late this month to discuss economic programs to fortify the peace pact. And at a September meeting the region's health ministers and ministers of culture and sports analyzed joint programs.

"Through the parliament and other integration projects, the Central American nations are creating new basic principles and norms of coexistence and more independence throughout the region *vis a vis* foreign governments," Guatemalan Deputy Foreign Minister Luis Chea told *In These Times*.

Nevertheless, diplomats here warn that the parliament and budding cooperation agreements depend on the peace pact's success. "There can't be collaboration among countries at war," Honduran Vice President Alfredo Fortin told *In These Times*.

Despite major advances in the peace process, major obstacles remain. Although government-guerrilla talks in El Salvador and Guatemala began last week, cease-fires must yet be reached.

In Nicaragua, the counterrevolutionaries rejected a government-declared cease-fire and warned that contra troops would use the government's withdrawal from conflict areas to attack unprotected military and economic targets. But the Reagan administration's insistence that it will seek congressional approval for some \$270 million in new assistance for the contras is taken seriously by Sandinista officials and remains the primary hurdle blocking the pact's success.

"We believe that a climate of peace is necessary to hold regional elections to install the Central American Parliament," Nicaraguan Vice President Ramirez told *In These Times*. "If the U.S. government decides to continue supporting the contras, it will be very difficult to obtain peace. Until the U.S. aggression against Nicaragua stops, the Central American countries will not be able to do much."

Kevin Robinson is *In These Times'* correspondent in Guatemala.

CONTENTS

Inside Story: Behind the Central American Parliament ..	2
Will the union punt in the pro football strike?	3
In Short	4
AIDS—fear and loathing in the medical community	6
Poisons in your food, courtesy of the EPA	8
Labor Roundup: The Ford-UAW settlement	11
Home is where the work is	12
Editorials	14
Letters/Sylvia	15
Soviet Notes by Alexander Amerisov	16
Ashes & Diamonds by Alexander Cockburn	17
In Print: Cory and Imelda mythologized	18
Vonnegut does the modern painters	19
In the Arts: John Mellencamp's strains of maturity ..	20
Gay and lesbian experimental films	21
Classifieds/Life in Hell	23
Philippine filmmaker Lino Brocka	24

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

AN INTREPID BAND OF TRADE UNIONISTS, shouting "Scabs go home!" and singing "Solidarity Forever," gathered in the park outside Robert F. Kennedy stadium on Sunday, October 4, as the football game between the replacement players from the Washington Redskins and the St. Louis Cardinals went on inside. National labor leaders stepped to the microphone to cheer on the striking Redskin players and to excoriate the fans and players who had ignored the picket line set up outside the stadium gates.

"We will win this struggle, as long as it takes," said Gerald McEntee, president of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

And Machinists President William Winpisinger declared, "The real folks are here. The scabs are in there."

The comparative size of the two crowds, however, told the real story. While no more than 300 trade unionists listened to Winpisinger and McEntee, 27,000 rabid Redskin fans had crossed picket lines. Many of them expressed frustration with the strikers. Walking past the strikers, one middle-aged woman told Redskins' second-string running back Keith Griffin, "In two years, I'll be here, and you'll be out on the street." In the game's fourth quarter, as the Redskins pulled away from the Cardinals, the fans chanted derisively, "Stay on strike!"

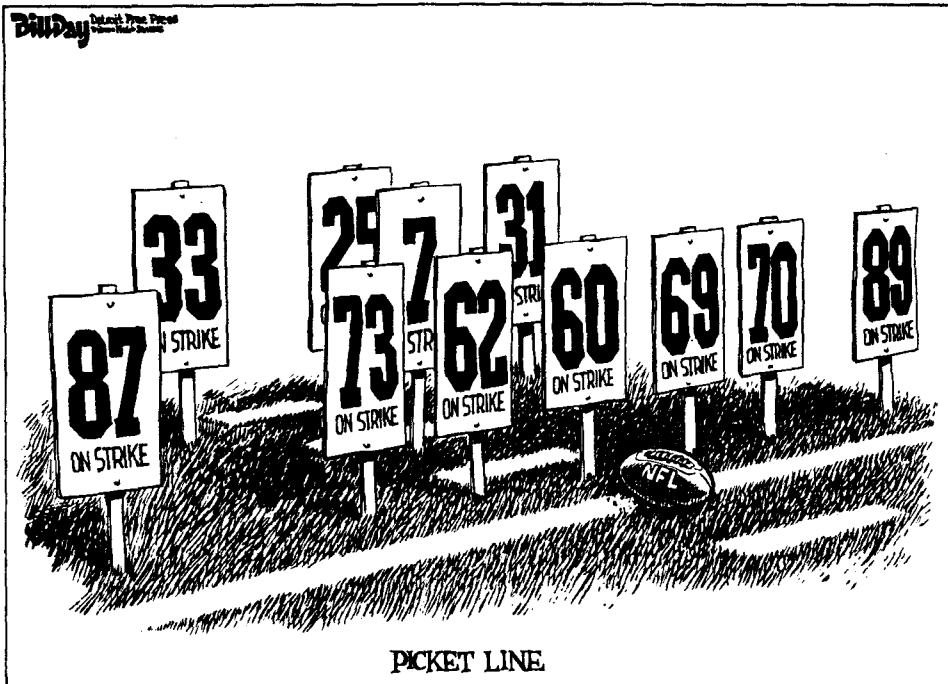
In other stadiums attendance was not as high as it was in Washington, but solidarity among the players and the local union movement was also not as high. Eighty-six players crossed the picket line, and in some NFL cities no players picketed. Sympathetic union leaders here now expect that the National Football League (NFL) players strike, which began September 22, will end in defeat. Because the strike is so visible and because the issue is the union's viability, its defeat would affect the entire labor movement. "If they bust this union, they are going to encourage other people to bust unions," said AFSCME official Steve Silbiger.

Temporarily rich: Like all strikes, this one is about the collective power of employees to win concessions from their employers. But in almost every detail the football strike is different from other labor union struggles. It is one of the most unusual and complex strikes in American history.

It does not pit workers against corporations. Except for the Green Bay Packers, pro football teams are privately owned—some by fabulously wealthy individuals, like the Kansas City Chief's Lamar Hunt or the Redskins' Jack Kent Cooke. Many of the owners look upon a pro football franchise as a means to gain celebrity and to exercise childhood fantasies.

Football players are highly skilled, having been trained for eight or more years in their specific position, and cannot be easily replaced in the same way as, say, an airline clerk or even an autoworker. They are paid an average of \$214,000 a year—about 10 times the median annual wage—but on average they work in their jobs for only 3.2 years. "The class struggle here is decidedly upper, the temporarily rich doing battle with the unimaginably wealthy," *Washington Post* sports columnist Ken Denlinger wrote.

The issue that led to the strike—the right of free agency—is also highly unusual. In



Football strike: fourth and long and time running out

most labor battles, unions are seeking to restrict the operation of the labor market in order to increase their wages. In professional football, however, players are trying to open up the market. As it is, they cannot choose which team they play for—they must play with the team that "drafts" them out of college unless that team trades them. This prevents players from bargaining up their wages. By striking they are demanding the right to work for whichever employer they choose—in other words, football players want unfettered free enterprise.

Most important, the team owners and the players' union are bound by a close legal relationship from which the owners cannot afford to extricate themselves. Without the union, the owners would be vulnerable to lawsuits charging that they are violating anti-trust law. Indeed, without the union the players would become free agents. "The owners want to tame the union, but they don't want to destroy it," said David Harris, author of *The League*, an authoritative portrait of the NFL.

To understand this complex relationship one has to go back to the union's founding and to the legal battle it waged in the '70s. **Fighting socialism with socialism:** Professional sports leagues are large cartels that do everything the Sherman Anti-Trust Act was designed to prevent. The NFL, for example, prohibits the entry of new firms; it

divvies up TV revenues and gate receipts among the teams (home teams get 60 percent of receipts and visitors 40 percent); and it rigidly restricts the movement of labor through a draft of new players and through what is called the "Rozelle Rule." According to this rule, named after current NFL Commissioner Pete Rozelle, if a player from one team signs a contract with another without being traded, his original team is compensated with high draft choices. Under the current arrangement, a team that signs an average player has to give up more than the player is worth: two number-one draft choices. As a result, only one player has changed teams without being traded over the last 10 years.

In the '50s players began suing the NFL for violating the anti-trust law, and to avoid such suits the owners recognized the fledgling labor union. In 1959, when the NFL commissioner lobbied Congress for exemption from the anti-trust law, he ran into criticism that the NFL was a non-union shop. The owners decided to recognize the union that had begun three years earlier in Green Bay, and they were able to obtain Congress' permission to pool TV revenues.

The union itself had little clout until the '70s. In 1972 Baltimore Colts tight end John Mackey, the president of the National Football League Players Association (NFLPA), filed suit, charging that the Rozelle Rule vio-

lated anti-trust law. In 1974 the union staged an unsuccessful strike to win free agency. But when one-quarter of the players returned to work after a month, the union's executive director, Ed Garvey, announced that all union members would return to work without a contract, and would try to win free agency in the courts.

In 1975 a federal district court ruled for Mackey and the NFLPA, and in 1976 an appeals court affirmed the decision. But it left the owners a loophole: the Rozelle Rule could be applied legally if the union and the owners accepted it within a collective-bargaining agreement.

The union was interested in a deal because it was more than \$200,000 in debt and membership had plummeted. In addition, Garvey did not believe that free agency was the solution to players' problems. First, he thought the owners, who shared their gate receipts and TV revenues equally, lacked an economic incentive to get into a bidding war for free agents. And second, he believed few football players were irreplaceable.

In 1977 Garvey and the union signed an agreement with the NFL owners acknowledging the Rozelle Rule. In return they got \$107 million in benefits and a union shop, where all players entering the league automatically had to pay union dues.

In 1982 the union struck again, but this time the issue was not free agency. Instead, Garvey demanded that the owners allot 55 percent of their rising profits to the players. Salaries would be scaled by seniority. "We are fighting socialism with socialism," Garvey said.

That year the players struck after the season's third game. The owners were forced to cancel games and lost TV revenues. But it was players who folded. When the owners made an offer of \$1.6 billion in pension and other benefits, four teams voted to accept the owners' offer even though it was virtually the same one the owners had made before the strike. After 57 days on strike Garvey was forced to accept the offer. Several months later he resigned and was replaced as executive director by former Oakland Raider guard Gene Upshaw.

The strike: In the aftermath of the 1982 strike, NFL players' salaries on average more than doubled—from \$90,000 to \$205,000 in 1986—but it was not because of the union agreement. In 1983 the United States Football League (USFL) was formed, and competition for labor contracts bid up players salaries. After the USFL collapsed, salaries increased only 5 percent between 1986 and 1987.

Despite the salary gains of the past few years, football players' salaries and pensions remain considerably lower than those of baseball and basketball players, even though football requires as much skill as baseball and is much more dangerous than either. Last year average baseball salaries were \$371,000, and basketball \$450,000. Pensions, which are particularly important to football players, were also lower. At age 55 the average football player draws \$1,300 a month, while the average baseball player gets \$3,000.

Meanwhile, owners' income has continued to skyrocket. Take, for instance, the publicly owned Green Bay Packers. The least wealthy of the teams, it had the league's third worst record last year. In another sport it would have suffered financial reverses. Yet Green Bay, which paid players a little more than

Continued on page 10

IN THESE TIMES OCT. 14-20, 1987 3

Maverick owner shunned for fair labor practices

Only one owner has consistently broken ranks with the other owners, the Los Angeles Raiders' Al Davis. In 1978 he defied the league's rule against owners moving their teams without authorization by announcing that he would transfer the Raiders from Oakland to Los Angeles. In an ongoing suit, Davis charged the league with violating anti-trust law.

Davis has also backed the players' demand for free agency and chided owners for their recalcitrant attitude toward the players. During the 1982 strike Davis said, "The idea should not be to defeat the players. I see one owner saying the season is over and others talking about getting new

players to play under the banner of the NFL. To my way of thinking, that's not the way to approach the problem. The players are the game. We own it, but they play it."

In this year's strike Davis has proposed a compromise in which players would become limited free agents after seven years—with teams having the right to equal offers from other teams—and unrestricted free agents after 10 years. Worried about his team's unity, Davis also convinced several top Raider players, including star Howie Long, not to cross the picket line.

But the other team owners rejected Davis' compromise and scorn his labor practices.

—J.B.J.

Joel Bleifuss

Big Brother calling

"Seriously improper" people and organizations, and anyone "doing business" with such, may soon find themselves on a computerized nationwide master list being established by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). The OMB, through the issuance of regulations, has created a government-wide "Consolidated List of Debarred, Suspended, Voluntarily Excluded and Ineligible Assistance Participants." According to *Foundation News*, anyone placed on the list will be ineligible for federal grants, loans, scholarships and most other government benefits. The new rules require all federal agencies to give the OMB the names of all applicable persons and organizations. There are many ways you might end up on the blacklist. Your name is added, for example, if you are a public school teacher who goes on strike despite a no-strike clause in your contract. It is also added if you engage in "seriously improper" conduct or show a lack of "business integrity or honesty," or if you perform poorly on any public grant. The OMB will be mailing out lists of the "seriously improper" to governmental bodies and private organizations (like universities) that handle federal money. And plans are in the works to hook up the list to an automated telephone answering service that would allow anyone to call in and find out who's done wrong.

Johns Hopkins—a spy for the Pentagon

Johns Hopkins University has fired photographer Terry Corbett for refusing to cooperate with a university security operation that compiles a photo catalog of anti-war protesters. Corbett worked at the university's applied physics laboratory (APL) in Laurel, Md., a research center that receives military contracts of about \$300 million a year, making Johns Hopkins the university that profits most from the Star Wars effort. The laboratory has regularly been the focus of demonstrations. Corbett says that until this summer he had been able to avoid working the photo-surveillance beat. However, in June he was ordered to begin preparing the 1987 "Protesters Board"—a photo record of this year's APL demonstrators. When Corbett claims the university sends to the Pentagon. He refused the assignment and was fired. "What is a non-profit, university-sponsored research-and-development facility doing making files on people practicing their First Amendment rights and distributing them to various government agencies? The powers-that-be at APL would tell me they were worried that some of these people would become terrorists and blow the place up," Corbett told Michael Anft of Baltimore's *City Paper*. "But when you're looking at a picture of a mother holding a baby, it's a little difficult to conjure up that image."

Coming showdown at the AFL-CIO

Central American policy will be debated at the AFL-CIO's annual meeting this month in Miami. And if the Minnesota state AFL-CIO convention last month is any indication, it could be a good fight. According to Dave Hage of the *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*, AFL-CIO delegates watched a 35-minute documentary that accused Nicaragua of oppressing unions and praised Salvadoran President Jose Napoleon Duarte for his labor and land reforms. The unionists then heard a talk from an official from the group that made the movie—the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), an international policy organization funded by the AFL-CIO and, many allege, the CIA. AIFLD's David Jessup told the convention he expected the AFL-CIO to endorse Central America's peace plan but he doubted that Nicaragua would abide by the plan's principles. At that point, however, several delegates brought up a resolution calling on the national AFL-CIO to change its neutral stand on contra aid and lobby against the funding, to endorse the regional peace plan and to support unions in El Salvador that are critical of the U.S.-backed government. Elliot Seide of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees argued: "It troubles me that the federation's position seems so close to the position of Ronald Reagan. A president who does everything possible to harm workers and farmers in the U.S. certainly can't be doing anything for workers and farmers abroad." Minnesota AFL-CIO President Dan Gustafson ruled the resolution out of order, saying it conflicted with national AFL-CIO policy. But the delegates overruled Gustafson. And, after an emotional debate, the Minnesota AFL-CIO passed the anti-contra resolution on a voice vote, to much applause.



Donna Binder/Impact Visuals

Homecoming. Announcing his candidacy for president, Pat Robertson returned to the largely-black Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn where he once lived. At a carefully staged event, the evangelist-turned-candidate blathered on about God and country to a mostly white audience as demonstrators chanted their displeasure. A peeved Robertson, referring to the three months he lived there 25 years ago, declared: "What the people on this block must understand is that this is the neighborhood we lived in and I don't think it's [the protesters'] neighborhood."

Will the real human rights abusers please stand up?

Ever since the five Central American presidents signed a regional peace plan on August 7, the Reagan administration has warned that Nicaragua cannot be trusted to comply with the plan's provisions for internal democratization and greater respect for human rights. That is absurdly hypocritical.

Costa Rica aside, the administration's Central American allies are the hemisphere's worst abusers of human rights.

Nowhere is this truer than in El Salvador, where respect for human rights continues to be abysmal. The New York-based human rights group, Americas Watch, in their August 30 *Report on Human Rights in El Salvador*, concludes that El Salvador under President Jose Napoleon Duarte is "very far from now being in compliance with the human rights commitments it undertook in signing" the plan. The report, which the mainstream press has largely ignored, documents a wide range of human rights violations. Further, it says that the already bad situation may be getting worse.

Abuses listed by Americas Watch include the disappearances, torture and assassination of government opponents. In addition, in the last 18 months more than 800 people, mostly civilians, have been killed during military operations. Many of these deaths are the result of indiscriminate bombings by the Salvadoran air force. To make matters worse, El Salvador's death

squads, after being relatively restrained for the past few years, have gone back into action, according to the report.

El Salvador's disinterest in improving its human rights record is seen in the government's failure to convict one single military official for human rights violations. In fact, several officers who have been linked to army massacres continue to hold important posts. For example, Col. Roberto Mauricio Staben, commander of the notorious Arce battalion, was personally reinstated by Duarte after being cleared "due to lack of evidence" on charges of running a kidnapping ring.

The report also notes that El Salvador continues to hold approximately 700 political prisoners. "Any suspicion whatsoever, no matter how unfounded, can serve as a basis for arrest. Many forms of legitimate, peaceful, political activity fall under the rubric of suspicious activity in the eyes of the Salvadoran Armed Forces," says the report.

Freedom of the press is another concern. The country's two major opposition newspapers were both violently eliminated in the early '80s. In one case the editor and a photographer were disemboweled by machete and then shot. Understandably, no other opposition newspapers have since appeared.

Furthermore, El Salvador has not acted in good faith to meet requirements of the regional peace pact. The agreement calls for each country to form a National Reconciliation Commission (CNR) to help resolve political differences. Aryeh Neier, who worked on the Americas Watch report, describes El Sal-

vador's CNR as "absurd." Commission members include Alfredo Cristiani, a member of the far-right ARENA party, and Alvaro Alfredo Magaña, the conservative former president. The left, with which the government is fighting a civil war, was excluded.

Nor does El Salvador appear willing to meet the plan's call for refugee resettlement. Neier says that during a recent meeting the Salvadoran military high command told him that refugees would not be allowed to return to areas of present or former guerrilla strength. And the officer told Neier that any peasant wanting to return to Arcatao, an area of Chalatenango province, "is a communist."

The records of the Reagan administration's other regional allies are not a great deal better. Honduras and Guatemala, both with dismal human rights histories, have barely begun to meet the plan's requirements.

The CNR in Guatemala, which was not finally appointed by President Vinicio Cerezo until mid-September, is dominated by rightists (see story on page 2). In Honduras, 16,000 peasants, who were moved from their homes to accommodate the contras, need to be resettled. But the government does not admit to hosting the contras and has not proposed returning these people to their homes.

For all his earnest words, President Reagan's disregard for the obvious shortcomings of his Central American allies is just further evidence that he has little interest in a negotiated settlement to the Central America conflict.

—Ken Silverstein

Scandinavia "zones in" on a nuclear-free Baltic

HELSINKI—Next to the majestic Helsinki Cathedral, in a ground-floor office of Finland's Foreign Ministry building, a young diplomat is laboring to politically defuse a nuclear powderkeg in Scandinavia.

"We would like," says Pertti Torstila, "to keep this area as calm as possible." But submarines and ships roaming the nearby Baltic Sea often carry enough nuclear missiles—aimed at East and West—to obliterate hundreds of large cities.

As a key Finnish foreign policy official, Torstila enthusiastically speaks about what is somewhere between a hope and a plan: The governments of Finland and Sweden are promoting the idea of declaring Scandinavia off-limits to nuclear weapons—a concept known here as the "Nordic nuclear-weapon-free zone."

A half-mile south of Torstila's office, the U.S. Embassy's press attache is amused. "Just about any time a Finnish politician makes a speech he talks about the Nordic nuclear-weapon-free zone," Douglas Davidson says. "It's sort of the sacred proposal of the Finnish gov-

ernment."

The State Department can be moved to anger if a small country decides to restrict the U.S. military by excluding nuclear weapons from its territory. That's what happened when New Zealand barred nuclear arms from its harbors two years ago. And last April, on the tiny South Pacific island of Fiji, voters elected a coalition that pledged to forbid U.S. nuclear warships from visiting their ports. A month later a military coup of suspicious origin toppled that government (see "In Short," May 27).

Now the Reagan administration seems anxious about the nuke-ban momentum in Scandinavia. Already the region's five countries—Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden—claim not to permit nuclear weapons on their territory. Norway and Denmark, however, oppose formalizing the ban. As members of NATO, both nations cite an obligation to serve as hosts for nuclear weaponry in time of crisis.

But public opinion polls in each Nordic country show a substantial majority favor some kind of regional nuclear-weapon-free zone. And the scope of such a zone could extend well beyond national boundaries. Two weeks ago, Soviet

leader Mikhail Gorbachov proposed that the military presence of both East and West in the Arctic be restricted and the area designated as a "zone of peace."

The U.S. is eager to discourage such talk. At summer's end, Assistant Secretary of State Rozanne Ridgway said that an agreement on intermediate-range missiles would make free-zone notions "out-of-date." With a treaty disarming those missiles, she said, "we will be now in a position to look at the future away from these kinds of proposals of [nuclear-free] corridors and zones."

But Ridgway appears to be indulging in wishful thinking. No treaty is on the horizon to curtail either Europe's battlefield nuclear bombs or Baltic sea-based nuclear arms. The free-zone approach is as valuable as ever.

What's more, since May the Norwegian government—a strong U.S. military ally—has taken a position that directly contradicts Ridgway's statement. In an official policy document Norway contended that an accord eliminating intermediate-range missiles would create one of the conditions needed to establish a Nordic zone free of nuclear weapons.

—Norman Solomon

Attempted "image assassination" leads to jail for Chilean satirists

In late August Chilean police arrested and imprisoned without bail two journalists who had tried to publish a mock diary of Gen. Augusto Pinochet. Coming to the journalists' defense are leaders of the Chilean bar, medical and psychological associations, as well as prominent members of the press. They are calling the government's trial tactics an "unprecedented" threat to the opposition press and an attempt to stifle public debate before the upcoming one-way presidential race.

The military junta has charged Marcelo Contreras, director of the investigative newsweekly *Apsi*, and Sergio Marras, the magazine's associate director, with "insulting the head of the armed forces." To honor Pinochet for his 14 years as president of Chile, *Apsi*, on the cover of an August 20 special issue, featured the dictator dolled up in powdered wig and ruff collar as Louis XIV. The accompanying story, "The Thousand Faces of Pinochet (My Secret Diary)," was an intimate, first-person account of the general's last days in office. The diary was illustrated with provocative cartoons, one of which depicted last September's failed assassination attempt.

The journalists' professional supporters have strongly condemned the tactics of Lorenzo Andrade, the military prosecutor



Apsi reported the confiscation of its humor issue in an August 24 cover story illustrated with the previously censored depiction of Pinochet the Fourteenth. But this time around the dictator held a mask to hide his identity and the headline read: "He who laughs goes to jail."

handling the case. At Andrade's behest, Chile's highest military court not only denied bail but also ordered that a court-appointed expert conduct a "psycho-political analysis" of the magazine. Andrade has refused to describe the nature of that analysis or how it will be used when the Chilean Supreme Court hears the case during its current session.

The opposition fears that, if accepted as evidence, this analysis will establish a precedent that would enable the regime to censor news when it objects to a story's "hidden" meaning. "Repression of free speech in Chile is nothing new," says Fernando Villagrán, *Apsi*'s general manager and acting

director. "What is new is the military prosecutor's argument, which permits him to act as a censor.... The government is using the phrase 'image assassination'—a charge it intends to substantiate with a so-called 'psycho-political analysis'—as a pretext to punish political humor."

Rather than file suit in civilian court, Andrade indicted *Apsi*'s directors in a military court, where punishments are harsher and due process less likely. If convicted Contreras and Marras could face five years in prison.

Observers attribute the intensity of the government's reaction to timing. Under the country's rewritten constitution the four military commanders-in-chief will name a single presidential candidate—presumably Pinochet—to be elected in a yes-or-no vote sometime before February 1989.

According to the Chilean Human Rights Commission, *Apsi* is the victim of a relatively recent government trend to try journalists in military court and thereby curtail political debate in this pre-electoral period. Indeed, Pinochet is already campaigning and his supporters have closed ranks to protect his image.

For instance, Attorney General Ambrosio Rodriguez, in a speech to military cadets, accused the magazine's directors of being "apologists for terrorism." And in a recent issue of the popular magazine *Cosas*, he accused Marras and Contreras of verbal terrorism. "*Apsi*," he said, "has tried to assassinate the character of Gen. Pinochet."

—Philip Mistral

Crackpot crusader

"Love of life is good, but veneration of life is idolatry," right-wing wag William F. Buckley Jr. told 3,000 evangelicals who congregated in Washington, D.C., last month to study the Bible. According to the *National Catholic Reporter*, the idolators Buckley had in mind were those Protestant and Catholic peace-movement leaders for whom "veneration of life" is more important than doing what is right—supporting a U.S. nuclear buildup. "We are coming perilously close to worshipping false gods," Buckley said. He then added that it was too bad the world had abandoned the medieval tradition of waging war to fight evil, leaving it for God to sift out the saved from the damned.

To B-1 or not to B-1?

Rep. Robert Dornan (R-CA) recently told *Frontline*, the newsletter of the Conservative Action Foundation, that the problem-plagued B-1 bomber is just fine. It flies. In fact, Dornan claimed he recently flew in one. Said Dornan: "As we were flying some practice runs, I asked the pilot whether they got many noise complaints from local freeze-niks. He told me that when they call, the servicemen simply tell the caller, 'I'm sorry, sir, but that's the sound of freedom!'"

Right-wing coup in Anaheim

California Republican Party efforts to present a reasonable public image have failed. At a state convention in Anaheim last month party leaders were off the floor refereeing a spat between Young Republicans when right-wingers seized control of the convention. Party zealots then passed a resolution demanding that Republican Gov. George Deukmejian "prosecute" two groups that are distributing "obscene and pornographic AIDS-education materials." According to the *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner*, the coup was led by Ezola Foster of Black Americans for Family Values. In her speech to the convention Foster also condemned the head of the governor's AIDS task force, Bruce Decker, for describing himself to the press as the governor's "in-house fairy." Applauded by the convention delegates, Foster was then arrested at the behest of party officials and charged with suspicion of trespassing.

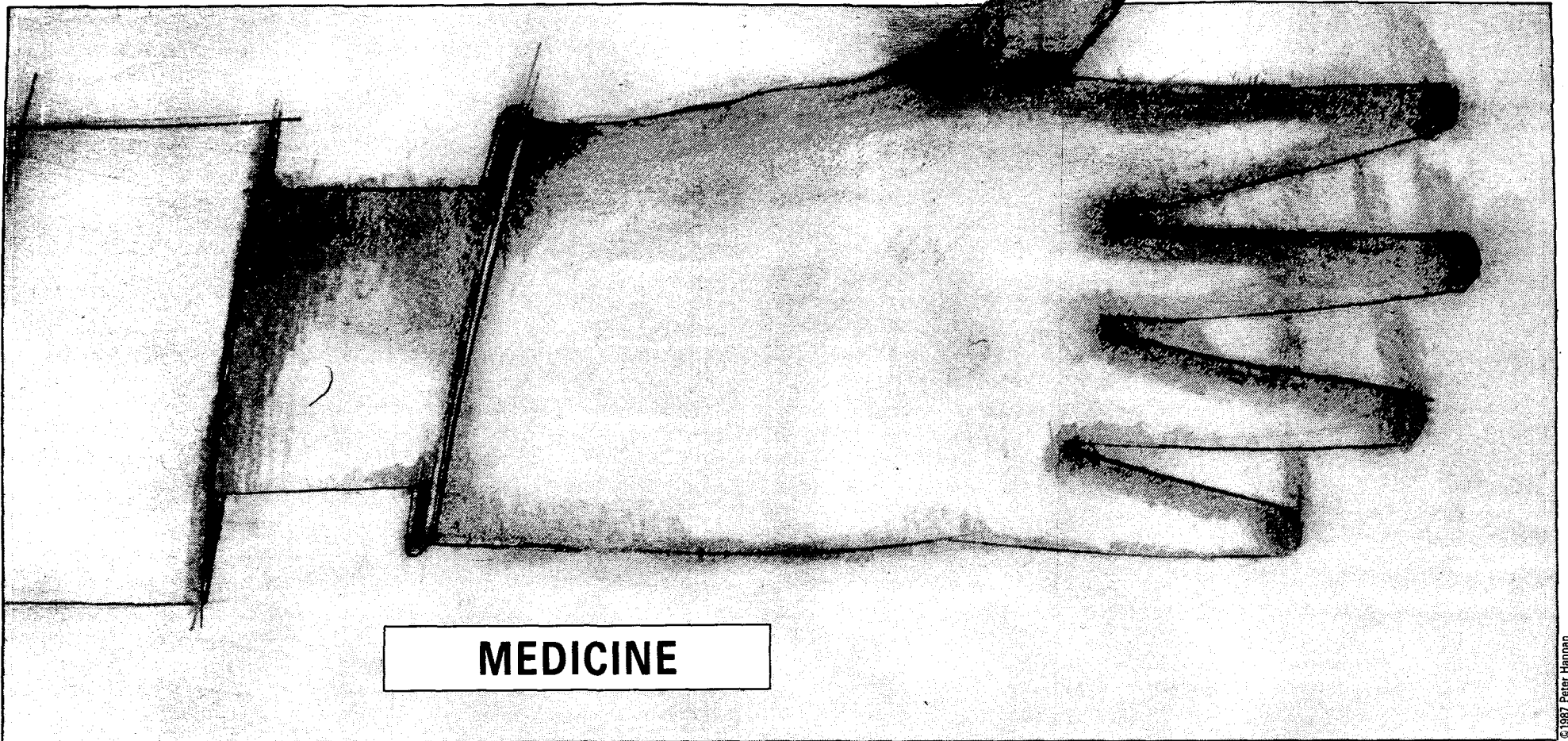
Gulag Leavenworth

Jacek Czaputowicz, a one-time political prisoner in Poland, had been invited to a September 27 dinner for Vice President George Bush at the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw. But then the embassy suddenly asked him to decline the invitation. It seems that Czaputowicz, who was imprisoned for eight months in 1986 for supporting Polish draft resisters, was planning to protest to Bush the U.S. imprisonment of Gillam Kerley of Madison, Wis. Kerley, a Selective Service non-registrant and the executive director of the national Committee Against Registration for the Draft, began serving three years in Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary in Kansas last May for what the Wisconsin judge who sentenced him described as "continuing criminal activities" in aiding and abetting other draft resisters. In August Kerley was moved to a prison isolation unit as punishment for having written a letter to the *Kansas City Star*. That letter alerted the paper to a new prison regulation that forbids unauthorized contact with the news media.

Waste runneth over

If you want to get truly disgusted read *Waste Management Inc.: The Greenpeace Report*. The environmental group's 64-page study, borrowing an idea from *Harper's* "Index," lists five pages of facts about WMI, the world's largest waste-disposal company. Among the many nefarious items:

- Estimated total of penalties paid by Waste Management for environmental violations, 1981-86: \$31 million.
- Estimated average time it took the company to gain \$31 million in gross revenues, 1986: six days.
- Number of incinerator ships operated by Waste Management: two.
- Number of operational incinerator ships in the world: two.
- Last time ocean incineration was allowed in U.S. waters: August 1982.
- Amount of PCB-laden waste oil incinerated on the ships, August 1982: 800,000 gallons.
- Estimated company earnings from 1982 U.S. ocean incineration operations: \$3 million.
- Reason why the company finds its current incineration operation in the North Sea so lucrative: lack of international environmental controls.
- Items on Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) walls that cause the EPA inspector general to rebuke officials for creating the "appearance of favoritism," 1983: Waste Management Inc. calendars.



AIDS takes its psychological toll on the health-care community

By Dan DeNoon

PEERING OUT FROM THE PAGES OF A RECENT *Newsweek* is the face of heart surgeon W. Dudley Johnson. It is a frightening picture because Johnson won't operate on you if he thinks you're carrying the virus suspected of causing AIDS.

The words "AIDS panic" conjure up images of fundamentalist ministers preaching that

the illness is the final expression of God's wrath, or of uninformed rural people in Arcadia, Fla., driving HIV-antibody-positive children out of town. But the image of Johnson—a leader in his field of medicine—turning his back on a patient gives a new and profoundly disturbing meaning to those words. And although panic about the illness might not be widespread among health-care workers, there recently have been several

alarming incidents:

- An emergency-room physician in one hospital recently sent a critically ill patient with low arterial oxygen 400 miles by car to a public hospital because the patient was suspected of having AIDS;

- a doctor treating an AIDS patient had to contact six consultants before he found one who would perform a routine bronchoscopy;

- another physician was forced to move a seriously ill AIDS patient to a different hospital when his hospital refused to allow him to perform tissue biopsies at the facility.

Most health-care workers do not refuse to treat people with AIDS—in fact, the great majority have performed professionally and heroically in the face of this admittedly frightening epidemic. But they share with their less compassionate colleagues the mistrust of federal health agencies' assertions that they are not at high risk of contracting AIDS.

A study of house officers at San Francisco General Hospital performed in 1983, when very little was known about the risk of AIDS transmission to health-care workers and when the HIV antibody test was not available, showed that 68 percent of the hospital's medical staff believed they were at high risk of getting AIDS. Despite assurances by the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) that relatively simple precautions virtually eliminate a health-care worker's risk of contracting AIDS, little has changed since then.

A recently published study of 237 staff members routinely treating AIDS patients at Boston's New England Deaconess Hospital showed that 54 percent of the staff agreed with the statement, "AIDS makes my job a high-risk occupation." Another study at a South Carolina hospital showed that medical

personnel treating an AIDS patient experienced high levels of distress that seriously interfered with their on-the-job behavior.

Not good enough: Noted AIDS researcher Peter W.A. Mansell of Houston's M.D. Anderson Hospital calls this strain on medical staff "caregiver burnout." Mansell, whose 25 years' work with cancer patients has made him an expert in the heartbreak of untreatable disease, calls the AIDS epidemic the saddest and most frustrating experience of his career. "I think attention needs to be paid to the situation of all of those who are engaged in acute caregiving, and the stresses with which they must live and work on a day-to-day basis," he told a 1986 United Hospital Fund conference. "It is not good enough simply to say, 'You're a nurse, you're a doctor, look after yourself.'"

As AIDS takes its psychological toll on health-care workers, and as the epidemic moves into new geographical areas and involves a greater number of medical personnel, these questions loom: to what degree do doctors and nurses and medical technicians share popular prejudices against AIDS patients? To what degree does this affect the level of care they provide?

Alarming attitudes: Mansell notes that some physicians not only regard AIDS patients as responsible for their illness, but ask why such patients should be treated at all. "My response is to ask, 'Why should we look after the individual who smokes and gets lung cancer, or the one who eats too much and gets a coronary infarction?'"

Yet the sad fact is that many people believe an AIDS victim is more "responsible" for his or her disease than the smoker or glutton. This attitude led to the Reagan administration's refusal to consider AIDS research a national priority—despite the urging of federal health agencies—until it became clear that the illness would not limit itself to gay men and drug users but would spread to "innocent" segments of the population as well. Many physicians and medical students apparently share this attitude.

University of Mississippi psychologists

THE ASSURANCE OF FREE CHOICE A New Basic Pamphlet (No. 27)

by Corliss Lamont

A brief summary of the main reasons for believing that all normal human beings possess true Freedom of Choice at the moment of deciding between different courses of action. Free Choice, the most fundamental of all freedoms, is always conditioned and limited, but is able to utilize mechanical devices and to interact with the general environment for the promotion of human welfare and progress. Your car operates according to determinism, but you decide where it goes.

A firm belief in free choice increases the sense of personal and moral responsibility, and strengthens human character. The issue of free choice and determinism goes back to the time of the ancient Greeks. Now modern science and philosophy enable us to give a more certain answer that makes room for free-wheeling men and women.

ORDER YOUR COPY TODAY

Send 50¢ in coin or check to
BASIC PAMPHLETS
Box 42, New York, NY 10025

Special prices:

10 copies \$3.50 20 copies \$6.50
50 or more copies—40% discount

Enclosed is my check for \$ _____

Please send _____ copy (copies) of
Basic Pamphlet No. 27.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Jeffrey Kelly and Janet St. Lawrence recently surveyed physicians in Columbus, Ohio; Phoenix, Ariz.; and Memphis, Tenn. These cities were selected because of their geographical distribution and because they represent cities with mid-range, but increasing, AIDS prevalence. The survey used a clever technique—randomly selected physicians were asked to complete a set of attitude measures showing their reactions to a patient described in an accompanying story.

In the story a patient named Mark is portrayed as a college graduate with a promising career in a computer firm. He is described as an outgoing, athletic man who gradually develops health problems including fatigue, physical decline and recurrent infections. Learning from his doctor that he is seriously ill, Mark finds that his family has great difficulty adjusting to his illness. Even his longstanding romantic partner eventually becomes emotionally distant and unable to cope.

Four versions of the story were given to the physicians, identical in all but two details: Mark's illness was alternately diagnosed as either AIDS or leukemia, and his romantic partner was alternately named Roberta or Robert. The same questionnaires were given to medical students in their second and third years at the University of Mississippi School of Medicine.

Kelly and St. Lawrence describe their conclusions as "disquieting" and "quite alarming." The medical students had extremely negative attitudes toward gay patients, regardless of their illness, and toward AIDS patients regardless of a patient's sexual orientation. The physicians, while not reporting bias against gays, also consistently stigmatized AIDS patients and were much less willing to interact with an AIDS patient than with a leukemia patient even when interaction (such as conversation) bore no risk of AIDS transmission.

But the strongest finding was that both groups believe AIDS patients to be very much responsible for, and deserving of, their terminal illness.

"[We] did not anticipate that medical students to such a great extent would believe AIDS patients were more deserving than leukemia patients of their illness and more deserving to die, to lose their jobs and to be quarantined," Kelly and St. Lawrence wrote in the July issue of the *Journal of Medical Education*.

The researchers drew equally harsh conclusions about physicians in the same month's issue of the *American Journal of Public Health*. "Attitudes of this kind indicate that many physicians experience discomfort interacting with AIDS patients, which can interfere with the development of a positive, constructive and open doctor/AIDS patient relationship," they wrote. "Physicians who never expected to see persons with AIDS will do so in the future as increasing numbers of patients with AIDS or AIDS-related complex (ARC) seek medical assistance; the results of this study suggest they may encounter more attitude negativity and avoidance than do patients with other serious illnesses."

Disconcerting results: University of Louisville School of Medicine psychiatrists Robert L. Frierson and Steven B. Lippmann reported in the June issue of *American Family Physician* that "physician uneasiness with psychosexual issues was manifested by failure to take complete sexual histories, unwillingness to involve homosexual lovers in discussions of treatment options and reluctance to have any unnecessary physical con-

tact with homosexual AIDS patients."

And in the survey of hospital staff at New England Deaconess Hospital only 36 percent agreed that "homosexuality is a natural expression of love and affection." More than 43 percent said that they worried that if they got AIDS others would believe they were homosexual—even though three-fourths of those surveyed were women, and homosexual women are considered to be among the groups least likely to contract AIDS.

Those surveyed also tended to overestimate the proportion of gay men exposed to HIV. Their average estimate was that nearly a third of gay men have been exposed to the virus, while the actual figure is generally estimated to be 2 percent.

Other disconcerting facts revealed by this survey were that while 94 percent of these health-care workers agreed that AIDS patients have as much right as anyone else to medical care and nearly half said working with AIDS patients can be a rewarding experience, more than a third said they were uncomfortable around AIDS patients. And 54.5 percent said they felt their fellow workers did a poor job of dealing with AIDS patients' physical needs.

Many of these attitudes were changed after Deaconess Hospital undertook an education and counseling program. But not all health-care workers believe a change of attitude is needed.

"So why the big push now for education? I call it propaganda," asserts John R. DePalma, a California physician and head of a health-care management firm, in a series titled "The AIDS Epidemic" appearing in the renal-care trade journal *Contemporary Dialysis & Nephrology*. "The surgeon general, Dr. Everett Koop, the Centers for Disease Control and HHS [the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, which, together with Koop and the CDC, has long advocated explicit and widespread education about AIDS transmission]...don't risk the loss of their professional license for refusing cardio-pulmonary resuscitation of an ER patient who looks like he probably has terminal

Homophobia, fear and loathing: The most shocking finding of a recent survey of physicians and medical students was that both groups believed AIDS patients are very much responsible for, and deserving of, their terminal illness.

cancer/AIDS. They really don't risk anything by coming down on the side of 'personal freedoms, civil rights and fairness.'"

DePalma is furious about a California law that forbids testing patients for HIV antibodies without their informed consent. His article speaks of health-care workers as the "front-line troops" in the war on AIDS; it is not clear who the "enemy" is. He sympathizes with an internist who performs fewer colonoscopies for fear of AIDS, and with a pulmonary consultant who performs fewer bronchoscopies for fear of being coughed on. He wants compulsory HIV anti-

body testing so that such doctors know which patients to avoid.

And about the patient's feelings?

"The real reasons the AIDS antibody-positive client doesn't want the health-care personnel to know about his or her diagnosis are shame and fear," DePalma writes. "In simple English, the homosexuals are terrified, and the 'head in the sand' trick will hurt all of us. They need guidance. We need testing and epidemiology."

As for the education DePalma so blithely dismisses, several studies show that as health-care workers become more accustomed to working with AIDS patients, they become more comfortable with homosexual patients and experience less AIDS-related stress. These studies also show that the stress and discomfort experienced by hospital personnel can be further reduced by in-house education and counseling.

A reassessment of New England Deaconess Hospital workers after that facility established an AIDS Education Committee and initiated support groups and educational sessions for its employees found significant decreases in the number of workers who reported discomfort in working with AIDS patients. Yet even with such training and counseling there was no significant decrease in the number of health-care workers who felt themselves to be at high risk of getting the illness.

DePalma is not the only medical professional concerned about reports that three health-care workers exposed to HIV-contaminated blood now show evidence of infection with the virus. Newspapers were quick to report these cases, although not so quick to report the extraordinary circumstances of the exposures, and the most recent scare about a laboratory technician who became infected by HIV (which he was handling in high-concentrations) has further inflamed the already worried medical profession.

As Daniel Defoe pointed out in *Journal of the Plague Year*, and as Albert Camus observed in *The Plague*, people's thoughts and actions in the face of an epidemic are not always based on logic. The few examples of health-care workers who have apparently been infected with HIV are taken as examples of the ease of HIV transmission, while the huge number of health-care workers who have been exposed but not infected are ignored.

What are the numbers? According to the CDC, as of last July, 1,875 people with AIDS—5.8 percent of the 32,395 adults with AIDS—were employed as health-care and clinical laboratory workers. Behavior outside of the job put 95 percent of these health-care workers at risk for AIDS. The remaining 5 percent had no identifiable risk factors; this proportion was slightly higher than that of non-health-care workers, 3 percent of whom had no identifiable risk for AIDS. While this is a significant difference, the proportion of health-care workers with AIDS who had no identifiable behavioral risk has not increased since 1982, although the number of AIDS patients treated in health-care settings has greatly increased since that time.

Of these 87 health-care workers with AIDS, 33 have been interviewed (16 were not followed up due to death or refusal to be interviewed and 38 are still being investigated). While 15 of these 33 individuals had been exposed to blood or body fluids in the 10 years before contracting AIDS, none of these exposures involved a patient infected with HIV or who had AIDS.

Various research teams in the U.S. and England have followed 2,663 health-care

workers who have either been stuck with a needle contaminated with an AIDS patient's blood or who have had an open wound or mucous membrane contaminated with the blood or body fluid of an AIDS patient. Thus far, five of these people—one-fifth of 1 percent—have tested positive for antibodies to HIV. Furthermore, a recent study of 270 health-care workers at San Francisco General Hospital, where thousands of AIDS patients have received care, showed that none of the workers had developed HIV antibodies although 75 percent had treated patients with AIDS at least a year prior to the study. And despite 129 needle-stick injuries and 213 splash exposures reported by 94 of 175 health-care workers retested 10 months later, none tested positive for HIV antibodies.

The alarming thing about this study is it shows that at the hospital generally recognized as providing the world's best AIDS patient care, more than half of the medical personnel use inadequate precautions when dealing with AIDS patients or when handling patients' specimens. Adequate precautions do not involve extraordinarily difficult procedures. Health-care workers are advised by the CDC to avoid contact with the blood or body fluids of all patients by wearing gloves and a surgical mask when such contact is anticipated, and by wearing protective eyewear during procedures that may result in generating blood or fluid droplets, blood splashes or bone chips. Housekeeping personnel need take no greater precautions than usual, as even enormously concentrated samples of HIV are inactivated by routine disinfection procedures.

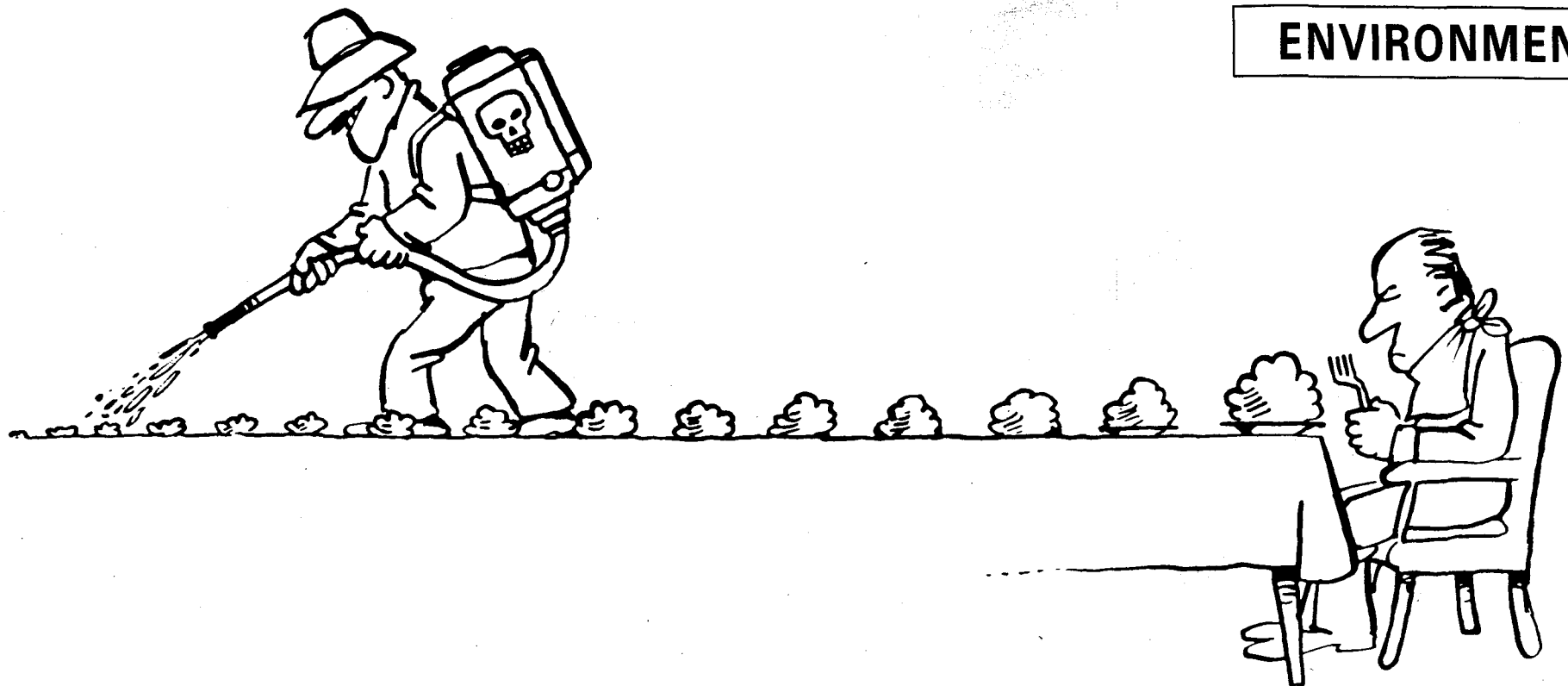
Images of our own mortality: Thanks to efforts begun by the gay communities of New York City and San Francisco, it is now generally recognized that counseling and support for AIDS patients and education for the entire community about those behaviors that increase the risk of contracting AIDS are the best means of controlling the fear associated with the illness. Health-care workers treating AIDS patients deserve the greatest support and appreciation that their communities can provide. Education about the actual risk of HIV transmission is important, but as San Francisco General's Molly Cooke suggests, other programs are needed. They include community and hospital support groups that can provide stress reduction and grief counseling as well as counseling for those who experience homophobia, negative reactions to drug abuse and caregiver burnout.

As Cooke recently wrote, "Health-care professionals like to cure patients, and yet AIDS forces us to confront our own impotence at a time when recent advances in medicine and science suggested that disease could be totally mastered. The frustration and despair we feel are often profound when we confront the limitations of our own capabilities. Finally, AIDS presents all of us with images of our own mortality.... Health-care workers are, if anything, more uncomfortable with the transience of the flesh than lay people. As a result, we are particularly horrified by AIDS."

The problem for health-care workers—and for all of us—is to keep the horror of AIDS from making us forget the bonds of humanity that tie us to the people who suffer from the illness. If the fight against AIDS is a war, then people with AIDS must be treated as allies, not enemies. □

Dan DeNoon is an Atlanta-based freelance writer who writes for *CDC AIDS Weekly*, a privately published newsletter not affiliated with the CDC.

ENVIRONMENT



K. M. H.

ROTHCO

By William K. Burke

SINCE IT WAS FOUNDED IN 1970, THE ENVIRONMENTAL Protection Agency (EPA) has worked to reassure Americans that the federal government is concerned about their health and environment. But reassuring is not protecting, at least when it comes to regulating pesticides in food.

After 17 years the EPA lacks data on many pesticides consumed daily by U.S. consumers. And now that new studies are being produced the EPA wants to change its pesticide rules. It seems too many highly profitable chemicals now in use will be banned when the agency documents their hazards.

A paradox binds the EPA's efforts to regulate pesticides. Older, more toxic, chemicals continue to be sprayed while newer pesticides are subjected to strict standards. The laws are the same for both newer and older chemicals, but the older chemicals have thus far escaped EPA scrutiny because they were first approved for use before residue levels now known to cause cancer were even detectable. And many pesticide uses approved before the EPA was created have continued since then, despite the lack of up-to-date scientific data on health hazards.

The EPA registration process that clears pesticides for use is lengthy, complicated and prone to lawsuits by both manufacturers and environmentalists. As a result, the EPA has traditionally focused its attention on well-known hazards like DDT, and on new chemicals about to enter the market. However, in 1981 the agency initiated a "data call-in" to bring its files on hazards from older pesticides up to date.

The new studies resulted from congressional orders that the EPA use current scientific standards to re-register older pesticides. But, according to agrichemical executives consulted by the National Academy of Science (NAS), that new data could trigger a 1958 law that would ban 24 percent of all pesticides now in use.

That law, the so-called Delaney Clause, prohibits any cancer-causing chemical residues in these times. OCT. 14-20, 1987

Your salad could be killing you

idues that concentrate in processed food. The clause is named for former Rep. James Delaney (D-NY) who insisted it be inserted into the 1958 Food, Drug and Cosmetics Act.

Until now, lack of data has allowed the EPA to avoid applying the Delaney Clause to older pesticides. But when the agency receives data showing those long-used chemicals cause cancer and concentrate in processed food, they will be forced to ban the pesticides' use in crops destined for processing plants. That would include approximately 55 percent of all foods, according to the NAS.

The prospect of having to ban so many profitable chemicals caused the EPA to ask the NAS for help. A committee of scientists, agrichemical industry representatives and researchers were assembled in 1985 to study current policy and evaluate new methods for regulating toxic pesticides.

The NAS study seemed to resolve the EPA's dilemma. It was exhaustive and properly critical of the EPA's flaws. It also suggested a new policy that could reduce estimated cancer risks from the most dangerous chemicals by almost 98 percent, while preserving the benefits of pesticide use. The NAS's scenario is impressive, but misleading.

The risk of "negligible risk": The NAS recommended the EPA allow carcinogenic pesticides to be sprayed on crops when the EPA calculated the resulting cancer risk was less than one cancer case per million consumers. The EPA could interpret this so-called "negligible" risk as meeting the Delaney Clause's strict no-carcinogens rule. Newer, less carcinogenic pesticides could then be registered to replace older chemicals.

That NAS recommendation was another manifestation of a Reagan administration policy that allows regulatory agencies to bypass the Delaney Clause if they decide a

chemical's cancer risk is low enough. Janet Hathaway, a lawyer with the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC), said the NRDC will contest any EPA use of this tactic. "Our view is that you should use the numbers to alert people to [cancer] risk, but you should never use them as consoling mechanisms...and say 'gee, no cause for alarm.'" Hathaway said.

Environmental groups like Hathaway's hope that a win in the case of *Public Citizen vs. Young*, a court challenge to the Food and Drug Administration's use of such a "negligible risk" argument to justify continued use of carcinogenic food colorings, will prevent the EPA from using the same tactics.

But the EPA is currently preparing a plan to implement recommendations of the NAS study. The plan's author, Debbie Sisco, said it was being rewritten and would be released "this fall." Sisco wouldn't disclose details of the plan, but said it will probably include a negligible risk standard.

"It's going to take some gumption to implement this report. Whichever way they go the EPA is going to get sued," said Richard Wiles, who was in charge of the NAS report. If the EPA tries to use the Delaney Clause to ban the known carcinogens now in use the underfunded agency faces years of costly court battles with the 20 multinational corporations that produce most pesticides. But environmental groups would probably sue to prevent the EPA using the "negligible risk" concept to avoid the law and license new pesticides.

The NRDC and other environmental groups just don't believe EPA pesticide policies will improve by implementing NAS suggestions that actually weaken carcinogen controls by giving the agency the power to disregard the Delaney Clause. "It would be a terrible and tragic mistake to do what the [NAS] report says," Hathaway said.

Dangerous miscalculations: Poor sci-

ence riddles EPA's current pesticide policy. For example:

- The agency has no data on synergy—the possible increased hazards from the pesticide combinations found in crops and American diets. Instead the EPA debates pesticide risks one chemical at a time.

- The EPA reports new cancer risks of pesticides by adding them to each American's current one-in-four chance of contracting cancer. "What's an additional one-in-a-million chance added to your current risk?" the agency implies. But saying pesticide risks are separate from other cancer risks like smoking, automobile fumes and radiation is a scientific fiction.

In order to make such an assumption the EPA would need what scientists call a "control" group: a selection of Americans who had never been exposed to carcinogenic pesticides. No such group exists. A chemical-industry scientist admitted almost 25 years ago that all Americans had measurable levels of carcinogenic pesticides in their bodies. Since then pesticide use has increased. The sad truth is that, as Hathaway put it, "no one knows what an environment free of pesticides and other kinds of synthetic chemicals would yield in terms of cancer risk and mortality."

- "A wide margin of uncertainty surrounds nearly all [the EPA's] numbers," the NAS wrote about the agency's procedures for estimating each chemical's cancer risk. The EPA tests the chemicals on animals, and on the assumption that humans are more sensitive to chemicals. EPA calculations also assume the highest possible rate of pesticide exposure in an average diet.

Of course, no one eats an average diet. If you eat more than the calculated "average" amount of fresh tomatoes treated with carcinogenic pesticides you can significantly raise your own cancer risk while enjoying a daily salad.

• Another major EPA problem is the agency's reliance on chemical manufacturers for health studies. Theoretically chemical corporations provide the EPA with studies done in accredited, independent labs. The studies are then evaluated by EPA scientists. Yet the EPA was forced to halt approval of metalaxyl, a fungicide, after revelations that EPA staff members apparently put the EPA letterhead on a report submitted by the chemical's manufacturer, the multinational CIBA-Geigy.

• The Delaney Clause applies only to residues of carcinogens that tend to concentrate in so-called processed foods. According to the EPA, no meat or dairy products are processed. For example, salami and cheese are called unprocessed and so exempt from Delaney.

Because much of California's tomato crop is processed into paste and sauce, growers are required to meet the stringent Delaney Clause standard. But California's dry condi-

tions require few chemicals to grow tomatoes. Meanwhile, the EPA allows Florida tomato growers to use permethrin, a cancer-causing insecticide. Since most Florida tomatoes are sold and eaten fresh, the EPA exempts them from the Delaney Clause by calling them a separate crop and applying the more lenient standards for carcinogen contents on raw produce.

Critics insist such EPA interpretations favor chemical use over consumer safety. The Florida tomatoes that Americans eat all winter would be illegal if made into spaghetti sauce. But since they are eaten fresh in salads and sandwiches, the EPA says Florida tomatoes' carcinogen content is OK.

Wiles could find no rationale for the agency's distinctions between processed and unprocessed foods. "Part of the problem is the mix of science and policy. When does the science guy have to go mind his manners and let the policy guy make the call?"

Corporate clients: EPA officials often point out they are caught in the middle between environmentalists and industry. "No matter what we do, including nothing, we will be in conflict with somebody," the EPA's Sisco said. "There is no easy way out of this, someone has got to make a decision." But, especially under Reagan, the EPA has treated chemical companies as clients to be served while excluding environmentalists and consumer advocates from the regulatory process.

The NAS study reflects the EPA's bias toward 20 multinational companies that control the U.S. agrichemical industry. The study assumes that progress in pest control will come primarily from the research-and-development labs of those 20 companies. Even though the report discusses biological controls such as crop rotation and the introduction of pests' natural enemies, its main focus is on how to regulate pesticides while preserving manufacturers' profits.

"If gross sales of agricultural chemical companies are reduced or if net returns become more variable...revenues for research and development will decline and overall innovation is likely to fall," the NAS concludes. The threat to these revenues is, of course,

potential EPA enforcement of the Delaney Clause.

Environmentalists want the carcinogenic pesticides now in use banned. They also want to prevent any loosening of present law to allow new, supposedly less-carcinogenic chemicals to be approved for use. So how do they think U.S. farmers should protect their crops?

Hathaway suggested the EPA could use its power to influence the structure of U.S. agriculture. "Why are we using carcinogens if

The Environmental Protection Agency faces an important decision on what to do about cancer-causing chemicals now being used on U.S. crops.

there are substitutes available?" she asked. "And if there aren't substitutes available, maybe we shouldn't be using [carcinogens] anyway.... It might turn out that certain areas might not be able to grow peanuts, but that's life. It's better to be cautious on the use of these chemicals than to use them willy-nilly and let people suffer the consequences."

An addiction: For now, pesticide use will flourish on U.S. farms. "You're never going to grow 400 acres of celery in Georgia without insecticides or fungicides," NAS' Wiles said. He noted, however, that the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) estimates 30,000 farmers have switched from pesticide-based farming to natural pest-control methods. But many farmers say they've switched to such natural methods because of economics, not environmental concerns. Chemical farming can quintuple crop costs.

USDA policies promote agricultural chemical use. In 1986, 110 million pounds of pesticides were sprayed on corn and wheat subsequently stored as part of USDA subsidy programs. "Commodity programs are sort of the secret driving force behind the use of a



lot of pesticides that don't need to be used," Wiles said. And EPA press releases soothe public concerns about those chemicals' dangers.

Spraying fields with pesticides destroys the predators that control insect pests under natural conditions. Once hooked on chemical solutions, a farmer needs larger doses of stronger pesticides as insects develop resistance to the poisons. And, despite its name, the Environmental Protection Agency has been willing to go to court to protect American farming's chemical addiction. □

William K. Burke frequently writes about environmental issues for *In These Times*.

Don't want pesticides in your diet? Try some endives or watercress

"The average consumer is exposed to pesticide residues, although in minute quantities, in nearly every food, including meat, dairy products, fruits, vegetables, sugar, coffee, oils, dried goods and most processed foods." Having made that statement, the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) recently examined ways to reduce the cancer risk Americans face each night at the dinner table.

In a report prepared for the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) (see accompanying story), the NAS ranked the foods having the greatest estimated cancer risk from pesticide residues. The top five culprits were tomatoes, beef, potatoes, oranges and lettuce. Apples, peaches and pork are bunched just behind lettuce on the NAS' carcinogenic hit list.

That list is dominated by fresh fruits and vegetables largely because of the use of carcinogenic fungicides to preserve the crops during trips to faraway markets. Such shipping practices fill supermarket produce sections with unseasonable fruits and vegetables. As U.S. consumers, we expect cheap fresh produce to be available all year. The real price we pay for this luxury is the consumption of residues from millions of

pounds of carcinogenic fungicides.

The banning of one carcinogenic herbicide, linuron, could reduce the estimated herbicide cancer risk in beef by 99 percent, according to the NAS. Linuron also causes birth defects. It's used to spray soybeans and celery fields, golf courses and areas next to highways. It is used "in your home town and mine," commented Jay Feldman of the National Coalition Against the Misuse of Pesticides.

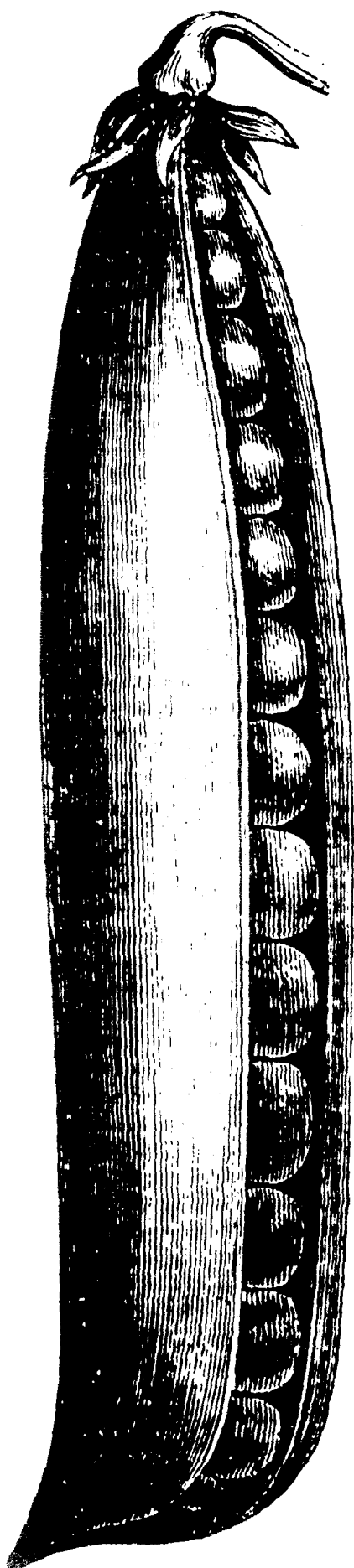
Feldman couldn't name a list of safe food products to counter the NAS list of contaminated produce. He recommended buying organic foods from alternative outlets and putting pressure on mainstream supermarkets to stock organic food. "That's the ultimate answer. Conventional food production practices today are heavily reliant on pesticides," Feldman said.

Richard Wiles of the NAS said his organization did not prepare a list estimating what foods pose the lowest carcinogenic risks. He added that such a list would consist mostly of foods that aren't eaten very often, such as watercress or endives.

Wiles also pointed out that the NAS list estimating the highest carcinogenic risks named the foods with the most carcinogens

permitted to be used, not necessarily the most carcinogens used. Farmers are businessmen and pesticides cost money. If a California farmer doesn't need pesticides to grow tomatoes, he won't use them. "His tomatoes would then be at the bottom of our list," Wiles said.

Still, as long as political and economic considerations are allowed to influence EPA policy, Americans will have little choice on exposing themselves to carcinogenic pesticides. A stark example of this was the EPA's two-year refusal to implement a ban on imported mangoes containing the potent carcinogen ethylene dibromide (EDB). The EPA first banned such mangoes in fall 1985. The State Department then asked the EPA to lift that ban until September 30 of this year due to the "strategic importance" of Haitian and Mexican mangoes to U.S. foreign policy. Part of the EPA's argument for cooperating with the State Department was that the average person's cancer risk from eating mangoes was negligible. Wiles summed up the EPA's attitude in that case: "[The cancer risk from imported mangoes] probably is negligible, but if you eat a lot of mangoes, tough turkey." —W.K.B.



Continued from page 3

These disparities underlay this year's strike. With the 1982 contract expiring this fall, Upshaw and the union decided to make free agency, which has been the key to suc-

In early September the owners countered with a proposal of their own that rejected free agency and featured a new wage scale that would automatically set the salaries of first and second year players. The owners'

On November 11, IN THESE TIMES will mark its eleventh anniversary.

Show your support by filling out the coupon below, or call our advertising department at (312) 472-5700 for more information.

Deadline for ads is October 23, 1987

Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____
Phone _____

Please print copy on separate sheet. We can typeset your message, or you can send a camera-ready mechanical.

IN THESE TIMES 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, Illinois 60657

The union leadership argues that gaining free agency is essential to raising player salaries, but some experts disagree. Paul Staudohar, author of *The Sports Industry and Collective Bargaining*, argues that football players would not gain as much from free agency as baseball or basketball players have. He subscribes to Garvey's arguments of the '70s, but adds that most football players are not in the league long enough to take advantage of free agency. "Free agency

The union does have a last resort: players can return without a contract. But with this strategy the union risks its own future, since players would no longer have to pay dues. And for the owners it would raise the specter of renewed anti-trust suits. □

IN THESE TIMES, 1912 Debs Avenue, Mt. Morris, IL 61054

name _____
address _____
city, state, & zip _____
Dollars & Sense, One Summer Street, Somerville, MA 02143

Both sides may gain from Ford-UAW pact

For decades the UAW has fought for and won protections for the income of autoworkers against ravages of inflation, layoffs and retirement—a contractual safety net. The new Ford contract, ratified overwhelmingly September 30 without a strike, strengthens the union's hand in its more recent battle to preserve auto industry jobs.

Jobs are not guaranteed by the contract: Ford can continue to lay off workers when there are sales slumps. But otherwise Ford will maintain jobs in all its plants for the next three years equal to the current number of workers (minus the small number of workers with less than one-year seniority). Under the Protected Employee Program of the previous contract, the union had to prove that job reductions resulted from outsourcing, new technology or other covered reasons for a new job slot to be created—entitling a worker to training, non-traditional work or other options. Now, UAW spokesman Frank Joyce said, "We start from the premise that they aren't going to lay people off. If they do, 'x' consequences follow." This should tighten loopholes in job-security administration.

Moreover, in the future Ford can reduce the Guaranteed Employment Numbers (GEN) by only one for every two workers who quit, die or retire. Previously each attrition reduced the job bank by one, a bargain for Ford, since its workforce has high seniority and consequently a high rate of attrition. Even so Ford should be able under the new rules to reduce the workforce by 3 percent annually, easily absorbing a large part of normal productivity increases. If it reduced overtime (now at a staggering four million hours a month), it could easily absorb others. To create jobs and reduce overtime, the contract increases the penalty; the company must pay for excessive overtime, although not enough to make it cheaper to hire new workers.

Still, some observers speculate that the auto companies may be able to use the cover of an anticipated brutal recession in the next couple of years permanently to wipe out job slots. The contract tries to anticipate some dodges: for example, if increased sales of a "captive import"—like Ford's Festiva, which is made in Korea—cut into sales of a domestic model like the Tempo, that doesn't count as a volume decline for the Tempo. Tempo job slots would be protected. The contract also includes stricter regulations on outsourcing—shifting work to non-UAW plants, which may discourage the practice.

The UAW won again a plant-closing moratorium (although two plants were allowed to proceed toward closing despite the contractual moratorium already in effect). And it won a requirement that all factories sold as ongoing operations must preserve the UAW contractual provisions—a particularly valuable protection if kept at GM.

By *Business Week* calculations, which the union acknowledges as roughly correct, the contract was not very expensive for Ford. The old automatic annual increases of base wage, for example, were not restored, although there are moderate wage, benefit and profit-sharing improvements and continued protection against inflation.

Some business-oriented analysts believe the contract ties management's hands too rigidly. But greater job security may not only

LABOR REPORT

By David Moberg



A UAW spokesman says Ford will now have "a work force with more morale."

be a boon to workers but to management as well. What Ford won, UAW spokesman Peter Laarman said, "was a workforce with better morale as a result of this enhanced security."

Indeed, *New Management* magazine editor James O'Toole argues in his recent book, *Vanguard Management*, that the best-run companies in the U.S. work hard to maximize job security for their own sake. *Wall Street Journal* writer Alex Kotlowitz recently reported that some industrial companies "are finding that job-security pacts may not be as bad for business as they originally thought." Managers simply have to be more "clever."

Workers may also be more willing to change work rules if they feel secure. Indeed, the contract calls on joint labor-management plant committees to report within six months on new "operational effectiveness" plans, covering items such as new forms of work, pay for knowledge and consolidation of trades. GM has forced such changes on its workers through the practice of "whipsawing," in which factories are forced to compete with each other. Working at overcapacity, Ford doesn't have this leverage, but nothing in the Ford contract offers potential relief from whipsawing to GM employees. The shift to new work rules has, in any case, been a smoldering issue that is deeply dividing the union.

Nearly everyone assumes that GM wants to get rid of more of its factories, especially parts producers. The UAW has indicated that it expects the contractual pattern to be maintained at GM, much as it was maintained at Ford and Chrysler for decades when GM was making twice the profit per car as its competitors instead of much less, as it does now. GM Chairman Roger Smith said that the company could accept the Ford contract with alterations.

The union has also hinted that there may be adjustments. One potential escape hatch is that the Ford contract permits negotiated buyouts of workers and their Guaranteed Employment Numbers job slots. Also, Ford's GEN plan has an expanded but still modest financial cap of \$500 million. GM could simply decide to cut ruthlessly and pay the price. But the restrictions on sales of plants, like the increased costs of getting rid of workers, encourage the auto companies to keep their jobs in-house and find ways to increase productivity without slashing workers.

Militant local union leaders at GM say they will be happy if they get the Ford settlement.

They will clearly be up in arms at any deviations. Some UAW leaders also worry that the union's GM department may be too accommodating to the corporation, which itself may be suffering from internal factionalism over how hard a line to take in resisting the Ford settlement. Even if it were not for these complications a strike seems quite likely, if only to vent GM workers' spleen against a persistently harsh employer.

Hospital union spat in New York City

Local 1199, the 80,000-member union of New York City hospital employees, has long been hailed as a model of social unionism. But in recent years the union has been through a maelstrom of controversy.

After the rest of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees split from the stodgy, stagnant Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (RWDSU) three years ago, Local 1199 endured a long, ineffective strike under Doris Turner, a black woman who split with her one-time mentors from the white, left-wing leadership of the Hospital Union associated with founder Leon Davis.

Then last year Turner was ousted by a slate headed by another black woman, Georgianna Johnson, in an election called and supervised by the Department of Labor after its finding of earlier wide-scale election fraud. Now Johnson is charging that Edward Kay, the secretary-treasurer on her slate, has engineered a "power grab" to take control of the union from her.

By all accounts Johnson was an inexperienced union member slated as president because only a black woman had a chance of defeating Turner, who despite her own incompetence, corruption and business-union mentality had a loyal following among black women hospital workers.

The Kay faction leaders are predominately black and Hispanic, although Kay himself is white. They maintain that the union's executive council unanimously agreed to share the officers' work cooperatively and that they tried, unsuccessfully, to train Johnson for her duties. In the whirlwind of negotiations and other activity, Johnson was often ignored and increasingly drew close to the new RWDSU president, Lenore Miller, ac-

cording to Kay supporters. Miller was part of the conservative leadership that had long fought the left-wing hospital union leaders, especially against their thwarted bid to merge with the Service Employees International Union (SEIU).

Johnson, with at most one other ally on the executive council and no cooperation from the staff, turned to an outside law firm. In early September her attorneys asked a federal judge to issue a temporary restraining order against "harassment, intimidation and other interference" with the local by the Kay forces. Later, the RWDSU tried to remove Kay from office for "dual unionism" (advocating eventual merger with SEIU), and his supporters worry that Miller may try to put Local 1199 under a trusteeship.

Retired vice-president David White, a one-time Turner ally whose testimony on her vote fraud helped oust her, returned to assist Johnson. He said he was angered by the "power grab," by what he described as current "abysmal" service to members and by the failure of Johnson's original promoters to train her for her position. His support for Johnson gives a new twist to a dispute that otherwise looked like a replay with some new faces of an old battle within the union. That conflict will continue to play out in court and in a vote this month on constitutional reforms that would democratize the union but now are also seen by Johnson supporters as part of the "power grab."

Whatever Johnson's shortcomings may be, the heirs of the Davis-left-wing tendency in the union gravely tripped up: twice in a row a black woman promoted because of the union makeup but not politically educated or trained for the job has turned against her mentors with disturbing, disruptive consequences for the union.

New drive stresses union solidarity

Under the banner of "Jobs With Justice—A Campaign for Workers' Rights," a group of big liberal unions has launched a drive to build a stronger sense of solidarity among their members and a more acute public awareness of "worker abuse" on the job.

"The cornerstone of the campaign is the pledge card," said Steve Rosenthal, spokesman for the Communications Workers, a leading sponsor along with unions representing coal miners, autoworkers, steelworkers, clothing workers, machinists, service employees, electronic workers, food and commercial workers, paper workers, transport workers and unions of federal, state and local employees. The pledge says, "During the next year, I'LL BE THERE at least five times for someone else's fight, as well as my own." The idea is to bring new power to strikes, organizing campaigns, plant shut-down battles and political action. Equally important, it encourages workers to identify with workers in general.

On October 10 the campaign came to Iowa with a rally linking interests of workers, farmers and communities. It was launched with a spirited rally of 10,000 union members and allies last July 29 in Miami. In both instances the rallies have been linked to congressional field hearings.

The Florida campaign is subtitled "The Fight to Stop Worker Abuse" in an effort to make worker mistreatment seem morally repugnant, much as child abuse has, according

Continued on page 22

IN THESE TIMES OCT. 14-20, 1987 11



By Joan McGrath

WHEN CONNIE JORGENSEN ANSWERED an ad in an Iowa newspaper for a home-based seamstress for Bordeaux, Inc., she thought the job would be ideal. The Jorgensens had just purchased a home in Clarinda, Iowa, but a change in the tax laws spelled trouble. "Our real estate taxes jumped \$100 a month. It was a big financial burden for us."

The job appealed to Jorgensen for another reason. Her 14-year-old son was old enough to be left alone, but Jorgensen preferred not to leave her five-year-old daughter with a baby sitter. She thought sewing appliques on sweatsuits from her home would enable her to earn some much-needed money and still be with her children.

Bordeaux hired Jorgensen in June 1981 for piece-rate pay: \$2.25 per shirt, \$2 per pair of pants. During the next three and a half years Jorgensen sewed full time at home, and for more than a year she also worked part-time in the Bordeaux store for \$3.50 an hour. "It put a strain on us. I got to be a bear," she said.

By the time her family asked her to quit, Jorgensen didn't need much convincing. She was tired of surviving on less than six hours of sleep a night, tired of enlisting her family to cut threads and iron sweatsuits and tired of suffering from neck problems and allergies to the fabric dust she inhaled.

For three consecutive years—1981, 1982 and 1983—Jorgensen had been recognized as one of Bordeaux's top seamstresses. But other than that honor, her rewards were small. Her home-based work had earned her annual gross pay of \$5,270, \$4,291 and \$5,413, respectively.

Jorgensen's experience with Bordeaux is not unique. The company now faces federal charges of minimum wage violations for 330 current and former home workers, as well as a civil suit for \$728,193 in back wages.

Yet not everyone supports the Department of Labor's (DoL) action against Bordeaux. "Why is the federal government trying to take my job away?" asks Sharon Brown, currently a Bordeaux home seamstress. "If someone's satisfied, no matter how much they're making, the government shouldn't be able to come in and say they can't have the job and then take the jobs from us."

But the fact is that under President Reagan the opposite has been true. The Reagan administration, with its unwavering belief in the virtues of the free-market system, has moved to lift the 44-year-old ban on industrial home work.

Labor Secretary William Brock's decision on whether or not to lift the ban, which had been targeted for June 1987, is still pending. Brock's decision will affect 145,000 garment workers in restricted industries. Unaffected are more than eight million Americans who work eight or more non-farm hours per week from their homes in such occupations as law, repair, education, consulting or typing, according to a 1985 Bureau of Labor Statistics survey.

The Labor Department's Bob Zacharias says Brock's delay is due to the highest-ever response to a public comment period—20,000 letters. Although the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) says that comments are running two-to-one in favor of maintaining the ban, Zacharias warned against such scorekeeping. "It's not just a matter of tallying for and against. Each letter is considered for its contents," he said.

But the public comments may not be the only thing delaying the decision. A DoL source who requested anonymity says the department was recently advised that its proposed regulations were too weak to withstand a court challenge.

Like controversies over government regulation in general where individual rights come up against legislation for the common good, the home-work controversy centers on whether the federal government should intervene in private employment decisions.

From sweatshop to ban: In 1938 the federal government was compelled to intervene. That year it passed the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) establishing child-labor laws, minimum wage, maximum hours and overtime pay requirements in an effort to put an end to the unbridled exploitation of workers, or "sweating."

The garment industries in big cities gained particular notoriety for this type of worker abuse. Sweatshops had been easily hidden in slum areas, and immigrant women and children had worked long hours for starvation wages.

The FLSA did not put an end to this practice, however. During hearings from 1940-43 the DoL concluded that despite decades of attempts at the state levels and years at the federal, home work in the certain industries could not be effectively regulated. Without such regulation the FLSA could not be enforced. This realization led the DoL to ban home work in knitted outerwear, women's apparel, embroideries, handkerchief manufacturing, button and buckle manufacturing, gloves and mittens and jewelry. Those home-bound for reasons of physical or mental disability could obtain special certification from the DoL to do home work.

Illegal home work has thrived over the years despite the ban because it is so easily hidden from the purview of enforcement agencies. Additionally, a 1980 census revealed that home workers in general come from social groups that face special problems when working outside of the home: mothers, the elderly, the disabled and rural residents. Many more are undocumented immigrants—fearful, desperate and unlikely to complain about minimum-wage violations.

The intrinsic difficulty of searching out illegal home work in a compliant work force was intensified by 11 percent cuts since 1980 in the DoL's enforcement staff. This meant that enforcement of the FLSA usually occurred on a complaints-only basis. In fact, enforcement is so weak that garment manufacturers like Bordeaux blatantly advertise in local newspapers.

But the Reagan administration aimed to do more than inhibit enforcement of the home-work ban. The 1984 Republican Party platform stated: "We demand a repeal of prohibitions against household manufacturing. Restrictions on work in

the home are intolerable intrusions into our private lives and limit economic opportunity, especially for women and the homebound."

The case that triggered federal action to override the home work ban dates back to 1979. When the DoL complained that a rural Vermont ski cap manufacturer employing 30 home workers had violated the FLSA, the knitters said they preferred to work at home. The ensuing court battle led the DoL in 1984 to replace the ban on knitted outerwear with a system of voluntary certification for employers of home workers. But in response to strong union opposition, the DoL left the ban intact for the other six garment industries.

The home-work controversy resurfaced in 1986, this time in the glove-and-mitten sector. The DoL ordered a North Carolina glove company to stop employing stitchers who worked at home. When the stitchers challenged the action the DoL backed off, and in August 1986 it unveiled new regulations that would supersede the home-work ban in the remaining six sectors.

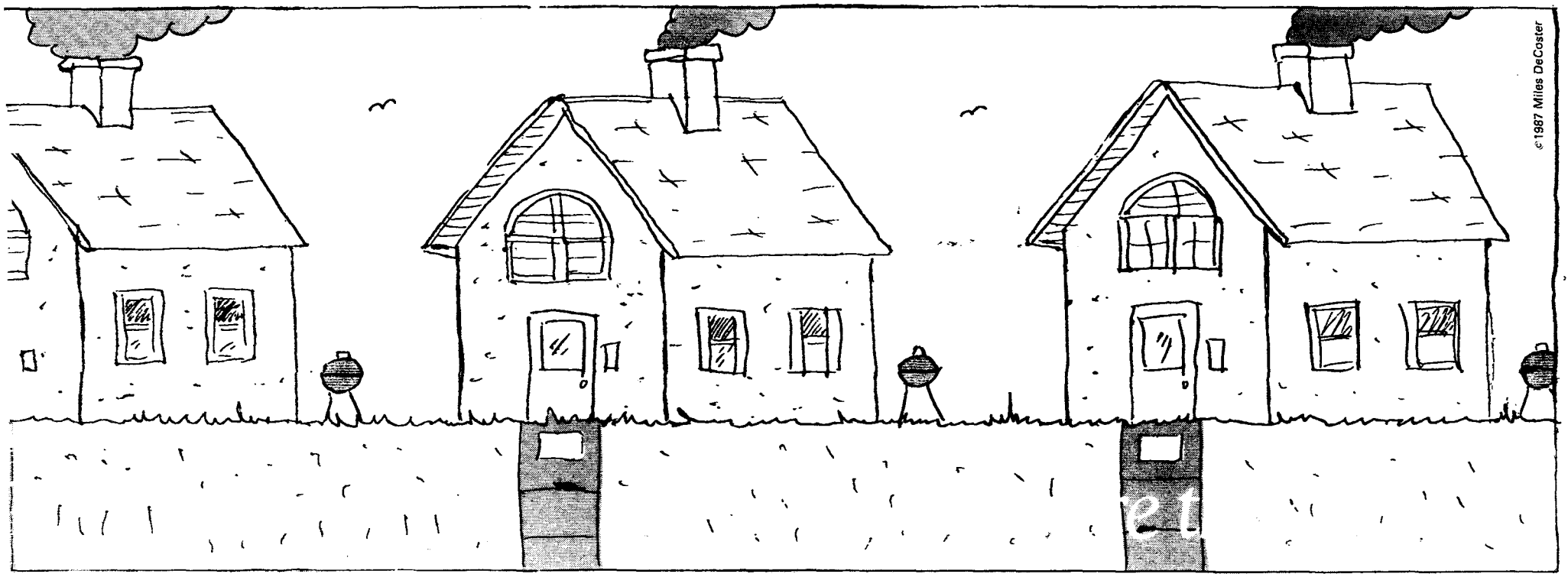
The DoL's new regulations call on employers using home workers to register voluntarily and to keep thorough records of hours worked, wages paid, piece rates and operations performed. Employers who comply with these are then certified by the DoL. Such certification has been in effect in knitted outerwear since December 1984.

Apparel unions claim 18 months of investigations conducted in that sector provide ample evidence of certification's shortcomings. In an industry of hundreds of employers, 56 voluntarily registered. Only one-seventh of the investigations revealed monetary violations; however, three-quarters revealed record-keeping violations, casting doubt on the optimism of the department's numbers, a DoL official admits.

Jorgensen witnessed the record-keeping process at Bordeaux when she worked part-time in the store. "If it took you less than 40 [hours to finish the week's work], great," she said. "If it took you more than 40, you still wrote down 40. If three times you handed in [time sheets] under minimum wage, you were let go."

The politics of banning: At the forefront of the battle over the home-work ban are traditional labor-issue adversaries. The lines have been drawn between pro-union groups that claim the

A Reagan administration plan to lift a 44-year-old ban on industrial home work has reignited a smoldering labor controversy.



©1987 Miles DeCoster

ban protects workers with little leverage, and pro-business and right-to-work groups that say the ban interferes with individual work decisions.

The apparel unions have history behind them when they say certification of home work is futile: the failure of that process is what led to the ban. Additionally, unions see the legalization of home work as a move to undermine the FLSA, and as a direct attack on organized labor.

Apparel unions point out that home work not only exploits the home worker but also undermines the higher labor standards achieved for factory workers. They accuse manufacturers of employing home workers precisely to avoid paying minimum wages, overtime, workers' compensation, unemployment insurance, Social Security, health insurance, vacations and sick pay.

ILGWU President Jay Mazur wrote in the August 1986 AFL-CIO *Federationist*, "Even the arch-conservative ideologues of the Reagan administration would not dare to repeal the minimum wage or the ban on child labor or the basic protections of worker safety which the labor movement has gained over so many decades." But he goes on to suggest that lifting the home-work ban will do just those things.

Michael Avakian, a lawyer for the right-to-work group Center on National Labor Policy, views the unions' stance on home workers another way. "Home workers are by definition non-unionizable; so for unions, home workers are competition."

Right-to-work groups dismiss the ban's history, claiming that sweatshop conditions that once made it necessary no longer exist. Avakian claims that federal attempts at regulation were cut short by the ban and denies that employers who hire illegal home workers benefit from a stigma of "underground racketeers." "If the home work is legalized, employees will benefit from all the protections of the DoL, instead of the DoL putting their employer out of business so they have to go on unemployment or welfare."

Politics and self-interest further bias the discussion of home work. For example, Rep. Jim Lightfoot (R-IA), one of Bordeaux's biggest congressional backers, owns two Merry Widow clothing stores that purchase Bordeaux' merchandise.

There's no work like home: Two-thirds of the 1.9 million Americans who work exclusively at home are women. Yet women are not in agreement over

whether home work should be legalized. The issue has a complex underside that doesn't fit a convenient, political dichotomy.

Sharon Brown probably didn't bargain for being at the center of an ideological battle when she took the job with Bordeaux two years ago. All she knew was that her husband's farm machinery repair business ground to a halt and they needed the money.

Whatever Brown's husband now makes working construction goes toward paying off the business debts, so the family has had to live entirely on what Brown makes at Bordeaux. Last year she made \$14,000, from which she deducted business expenses (depreciation on her sewing machine, gas mileage for transporting garments and materials, electricity, etc.) and paid income and Social Security taxes.

"It's perfect for people in this area," said Brown. "My own [sewing] business had fallen off about three years ago, and then I heard about Bordeaux." Although Brown says the work took longer at first, she now makes \$7 to \$8 an hour. "Most of the regular jobs are minimum wage and people who live in rural communities have to drive to work 20 miles each way."

To Brown, federal home-work regulations that impede her ability to make a living mean unjustified government encroachment. Brown sees regulations limiting home work as the reason why Bordeaux is considering moving its operation to Mexico, where on-site labor costs are considerably lower than the costs of employing Iowa home workers.

Bordeaux's dilemma is common in garment manufacturing. Since 1973 350,000 jobs were lost to cheaper foreign labor. The industry consists of a large number of extremely competitive small firms, employing an average of 10 to 50 shop workers, according to an ILGWU fact sheet. These firms can reduce their labor costs substantially if they hire home workers.

"By not having to pay a salary, benefits or Social Security, [employers] save from 30 to 50 percent on each home-based contractor," wrote Kathleen Christensen, director of the National Project on Home-based Work at the Graduate Center, City University of New York, last year in the *Chicago Tribune*. She cited a case of an insurance company programmer who earned \$25,000 a year with benefits as an office-based employee, and less than \$7,000 a year, without benefits, as a

home-based contractor.

Little myth home worker: An ever-increasing number of mothers are remaining in the work force or are re-entering the work force after their children are grown. Working at home can seem an appealing alternative if women think home work will solve child-care problems, increase flexibility and convenience, and save time and expenses.

But Christensen told *In These Times* that when women imply that they work at home by choice, it is important to look at what alternatives they have. "Often women prefer home work to not working at all."

For some home work raises as many child-care problems as it solves. Of 14,000 women surveyed by Christensen, 50 percent of clerical and professional women with preschool children used supplemental child care in order to work at home. Those who did not often extended their work days into the early morning or late night. "The notion that a woman can hold a baby in one hand and handle a computer terminal with the other is a fallacy. It is also an insult to the seriousness with which women approach both their child care and their work," wrote Christensen in the *Tribune*.

Home work often does not increase flexibility, either. "Many times I sewed until 2 a.m. or 4 a.m. to finish pieces for the owners to take to market...sometimes the owners brought me pieces at 11 p.m. or midnight to be finished by 6 a.m.," Jorgensen testified before a congressional subcommittee.

"Often home work is a cruel hoax," said Christensen. A company typically changes an employee's status to independent contractor—a practice Christensen calls fraudulent—when the employee changes her place of business. The duties and responsibilities remain that of an employee, with none of the benefits. For example, a home-based contractor must assume all responsibility for Social Security taxes—12.3 percent instead of 7.15 percent as an employee.

A contractor is paid only for the work done and not for any lag periods. Bordeaux seamstresses, for example, are not paid for the time it takes to pick up and deliver the sweatsuits, for inspecting the garments and sewing in tags, for making their patterns or for ironing the finished product.

Nonetheless, Brown defended these

practices and insisted that with piece-rate work, pay is totally dependent on the skill of the worker. Although Jorgensen agreed, she said that the patterns kept getting more difficult—sometimes involving more than 100 pieces of material for one applique. But skilled or not, Bordeaux's current rate of \$2.45 per shirt is insufficient to meet minimum-wage requirements, DoL time studies indicate. To meet these specifications Bordeaux would need to pay \$4.18 per piece to a seamstress with at least two years' experience and \$6.70 per piece to novice seamstresses.

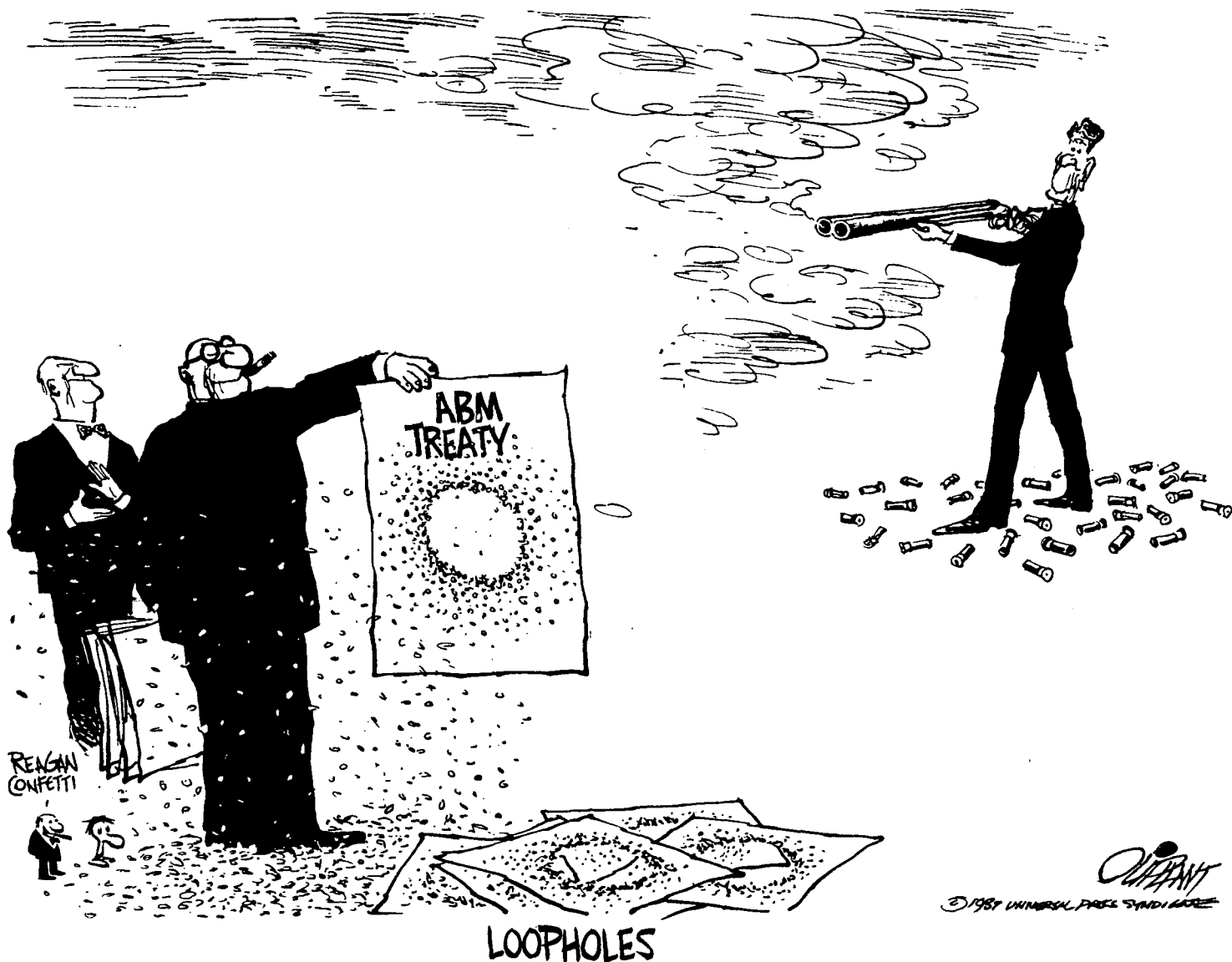
Home workers are as diversified as their places of business, but certain needs are common to many and govern their decisions to work at home. "Any discussion of home work should focus on those needs," said Christensen, who is author of the forthcoming book, *Women and Home-based Work: The Unspoken Contract*.

"Our society is changing to one in which the prevailing norm is for mothers to be employed," says Christensen. Yet the average cost of day care for two children eats up almost one-third of the average working woman's income. Christensen would like to see more creativity in dealing with the changing structure of the U.S. work force. Her recommendations include: more adequate and affordable child-care opportunities; more flexible work-family arrangements, such as flexitime and job-sharing; protective legislation to ensure that employees are not treated as independent contractors.

And if there is a need for such reforms now, that need will only be heightened in the future. Home work is being adapted to the high-tech demands of the Information Age at an alarming rate. About 10,000-30,000 workers—most of them women—currently use computers and other high-tech equipment to do clerical work out of their homes, according to a congressional report. The number of people doing such work is expected to rise to 10 million by the early '90s.

These new home workers have many of the same economic vulnerabilities as home workers of a century ago. Whether or not Labor Secretary Brock lifts the ban on home work in the garment industry, the need for the federal government to protect those who work out of their homes appears greater than ever.

Joan McGrath is a researcher for *In These Times* and a Chicago-based journalist.



Senate continues to rein in President Reagan

Three weeks ago, in an unprecedented arms control restriction on a sitting president, the Senate voted to prevent the Reagan administration from effecting a reinterpretation of the 1972 ABM treaty (see editorial, Sept. 30). Then on October 2, it did it again, voting this time (57-41) to mandate compliance with parts of the unratified 1979 strategic arms limitation treaty (SALT II).

The SALT II battle centered on three parts of the pact that limited the number of missiles allowed. Reagan began violating these in November, when he authorized deployment of B-52 bombers with cruise missiles that exceeded the 1,320 SALT II limit on missiles and bombers. He justified his action on the ground that the Soviets had already violated the treaty. But liberal arms-control advocates—led in the Senate by Dale Bumpers (D-AR)—have sought to preserve observance of these limits, arguing that MIRVed missiles, which they constrain, are the most dangerous element of the nuclear balance.

Not even a Soviet missile test in the Pacific the day before the key vote—allegedly in violation of another SALT II provision—could stop the Senate from imposing its will on the president. Reagan tried to stop this Senate action by claiming once again that it would undercut U.S. negotiators at arms talks with the Soviets in Geneva, and that it would “undermine U.S. security.”

But it was no sale. Fifty-seven senators, among them 10 of the 11 freshmen Democrats, including those from the South who were instrumental in the defeat of Judge Bork, were unimpressed with what had until very recently been a sure-fire form of intimidation.

This vote, along with the earlier one on the ABM treaty, is in some ways an even more hopeful sign than the defeat of the Bork nomination—for they were accomplished without a great outpouring of public sentiment. They indicate that foreign and military policy are no longer a monolith of Cold-War revivalism.

Regaining a proper balance of power

In large part, of course, Congress' first words of independence are also a consequence of contragate, and how far this Congress will go remains in doubt. So far, the signs of a break with Reagan adminis-

tration policy are encouraging but marginal.

The contragate committee hearings did little or nothing to challenge Reagan's neocolonialism. Most of those on the House and Senate panels—a conservative lot even by congressional standards—appeared to believe that Reagan's main fault was not to keep them informed. But institutional prerogatives have policy implications. If Congress had been kept informed, it is highly unlikely that arms would have been sold to Iran or that contra aid would have continued unabated despite the Boland Amendment.

That is why a Senate bill introduced by William S. Cohen (R-ME) and co-sponsored by three fellow Intelligence Committee members (Democrats Lloyd Bentsen of Texas and Dennis DeConcini of Arizona, and Republican Frank H. Murkowski of Alaska) is important. The Cohen bill would significantly revise legislation enacted since the CIA was created in 1947. It deals with when and how the president must notify Congress about covert operations.

The most important provisions of Cohen's bill would:

- Require the president to approve covert operations by all federal agencies, not just the CIA as under current law. In the contragate affair the president avoided responsibility by pleading ignorance. This would no longer be possible under law.

- Establish five conditions for each presidential order (known as a “finding”) that authorizes a covert action: It must be in writing; it cannot be retroactive; it must specify every U.S. agency involved; it must name any third party—including other countries—to be involved; and it may not authorize any action inconsistent with existing law.

- Toughen requirements for notifying Congress about covert operations.

Reagan has already said that he agrees with these provisions, and that he will issue a National Security Decision Directive to this effect. But Cohen correctly mistrusts this route, saying that a directive given by the president can be rescinded by him. A law passed by Congress, on the other hand, is binding on the president and can be altered only by a process of public debate.

It is not yet clear whether Cohen's bill, or one like it, will be enacted into law. In large part that will depend on the nature of the contragate committee's final report, and on the degree of interest shown by the public in this matter. But it is clear that such a law would be a meaningful step in bringing our country back into line with the original intentions of the founders of the Constitution. They intended to establish a government of checks and balances, one that would prevent unbridled executive power from riding roughshod over the wishes of the American people.

IN THESE TIMES

“...with liberty and justice for all”

Editor: James Weinstein

Managing Editor: Sheryl Larson

Senior Editors: Patricia Aufderheide, John B. Judis, David Moberg

Assistant Managing Editor: Miles Harvey

Culture Editor: Jeff Reid

Associate Editor: Salim Muwakkil

European Editor: Diana Johnstone

In Short Editor: Joel Bleifuss

Editorial Promotions: Maggie Garb

Editorial Assistant: Frieda Gordon Landau

Staff Writer: Jim Naureckas

Researchers: Joan McGrath, Lynn Travers

Art Director: Miles DeCoster

Associate Art Director: Peter Hannan

Assistant Art Director: Lisa Weinstein

Photo Editor: Paul Comstock

Typesetter: Jim Rinnert

Publisher: James Weinstein

Assistant Publisher: Carol E.A. Gams

Co-Business Managers:

Louis Hirsch, Finance

Donna Thomas, Data Processing/Accounting

Hania Richmond, Office/Personnel

Acting Advertising Director: Bruce Embry

Cynthia Diaz (on leave)

Advertising Assistant: Hania Richmond

Receptionist: Theresa Nutall

Circulation Director: Leenie Folsom

Assistant Director: George Gorham

Telephone Promotions: Laura Gillens

Concert Typographers: Sheryl Hybert

In These Times believes that to guarantee our life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, Americans must take greater control over our nation's basic economic and foreign policy decisions. We believe in a socialism that fulfills rather than subverts the promise of American democracy, where social needs and rationality, not corporate profit and greed, are the operative principles. Our pages are open to a wide range of views, socialist and nonsocialist, liberal and conservative. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700

Member: Alternative Press Syndicate

The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright © 1987 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Copies of *In These Times* contract with the National Writers Union are available upon request. Complete issues of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. Selected articles are available on 4-track cassette from Freedom Ideas International, 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657. Subscriptions are \$34.95 a year (\$59 for institutions; \$47.95 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. Back issues \$3; specify volume and number. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054.

This issue (Vol. 11, No. 39) published Oct. 14, 1987, for newsstand sales Oct. 14-20, 1987.

UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

© 1987

LETTERS

What, me racist?

ALFRED LEE'S RESPONSE TO MY LETTER ON crime (Letters, Aug. 19), which he characterizes as "a shocking piece of racism," is a classic example of the deficiencies in the liberal theory of crime. Lee misinterprets my observation that crime was less "when punishment was stricter and racial attitudes very unenlightened" in the 1920s as a desire to return to those racial attitudes. Such is not the case—it is the penal policies, not the racial attitudes, of that era to which I desire to return.

This statement is an empirical observation that when racism was worse crime was less because punishment was stricter and more certain, thereby proving that crime and racism are *unrelated* phenomena. Liberal theory hypothesizes that racism, poverty, etc., cause crime. Conservatives counter that lax enforcement and punishments cause crime by letting criminals know they can get away with it. The statistics I cite from Salim Muwakkil's article bear out the conservative view by showing that in 1925 blacks made up a smaller portion of prison populations than now. Since that time racism has diminished; if racism caused crime, black prison populations would shrink as racism diminishes. But if laxity causes crime, as conservatives claim, prison populations should grow, as they have. Whites who have more money on average are able to manipulate "civil liberties" which have been granted in recent decades to wriggle out of just punishment; blacks, on average having less money for lawyers, can't wriggle out as frequently.

Two articles in *ITT*, Sept. 2, confirm my point: Robin Knowlton's piece on rape (despite her paean in the last paragraph to liberal sensibilities) emphasizes the need to crack down on crime; even Salim Muwakkil returns to his normally sensible approach by reporting favorably on black-led efforts to stamp out crime in Detroit. Detroit's black mayor, Coleman Young, has decided that in order to get a handle on crime "civil liberties" have to be trashed. I applaud Mayor Young! I presume Mr. Lee is booing him. Whose views are racist?

Dino Joseph Drudi
Washington

JP Two

THESE TIMES' SECOND GRANDIST PITCHMAN for sexual and political regression, Pope John Paul II, brings his Big Tent Show to the U.S. and your writer Robert McCorty uses up a whole page on subtle contradictions in the papal message! What about Vatican political and financial agendas? How about a little muck?

Remember, this is not merely the pope that met Chile's Pinochet and unrepentant ex-Nazi Kurt Waldheim. This is the pope who can visit the grave of a Polish priest murdered by Communist police, while on Latin American tours skipping dozens of graves filled with priests and nuns (many raped) by anti-socialist "freedom fighters" from Honduras to Chile.

Maybe this is just more evidence, as Robert McCorty so delicately puts it, that the pope has "demonstrated that he can live with contradictions in some situations and doesn't hesitate to use them creatively as circumstances warrant."

Or, as Father Zarabop says in the "Papal

Rap": "JP Two loves his Latin lands/ But too many priests gettin' outta hand/ Liberation they say is the Bible's way till in an early grave they lay hey, hey/ For Jesuits JP Two's a nut/ But left wing politics is worse than smut...."

Scott Holmquist
Washington

Trade for Peace

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ARTICLE ON TRADE FOR Peace ("In Short," Sept. 2) and our attempt symbolically to resist the U.S. economic embargo of Nicaragua.

Economic aggression against Nicaragua is a central part of the U.S. government's strategy of low-intensity conflict. Not only are contra attacks designed to exacerbate Nicaragua's economic vulnerability by targetting the food supply and construction projects, but the trade embargo further destroys the economy by exploiting Nicaragua's traditional dependence on U.S. markets. Although new markets were quickly found for Nicaraguan goods, the embargo cost Nicaragua \$93 million in the first year alone.

All reports indicate that the economic war has taken its toll: the food supply is precarious, basic medicines are lacking, raw materials and spare parts are hard to find. Health-care workers now report an increase in malnutrition among children, a situation the Nicaraguan health campaign was making great strides in reducing.

We see our project as within the political tradition of non-violent civil disobedience. The success of low-intensity conflict depends on the silent acceptance of the people of the U.S. Although the project may seem small and symbolic, we believe that every act of resistance helps to end that silence.

Anyone wishing to purchase goods, such as postage stamps, may write to us for a price list at P.O. Box 3190, Madison, WI 53704-0190.

Sharon Lewandowski
Trade for Peace, Inc.
Madison, Wisc.

Pastiche

DIANA JOHNSTONE REGRETS THAT NO SYSTEM works (*ITT*, Sept. 23), neither Soviet, American, Third World nor Yugoslav. It would be more accurate to say no system is perfect. In the real world we must decide which works best. Diana should tell us which system she prefers to live in, and why.

James Goodno seeks to blame Philippine instability on the U.S. (*ITT*, Sept. 23). As one Filipino put it, contrasting his country's colonial experience under Spain and the U.S., "We were 300 years in the monastery and

40 years in Hollywood." Forty years is a short time to shape a political and economic culture. Philippine instability is no different from that in many of Spain's other former colonies, and due more to conquistadors than capitalists.

Reto Pieth regrets American English creeping into Switzerland (*ITT*, Sept. 16). This is not unusual. Roman law brought Latin words to European languages, as did France's culture for French. The King's English was creeping in long before the U.S. came to Europe. Foreign words are not forced on anyone. They are accepted when native languages have no adequate term or when people admire a foreign culture. Can Mr. Pieth explain why the Swiss in Zurich say *merci vielmals* for "many thanks"? And Americanization of the European soul? He's got to be kidding. *Vive l'Europe*.

Yale Richmond
Alexandria, Va.

Universal incest?

I'M RESPONDING TO ROBIN WILLIS KNOWLTON'S fine "Viewpoint" on rape in the U.S. (*ITT*, Sept. 23). She is accurate in that sexual abuse is vastly under-reported. But from what I've seen and read, the figure of 27 percent of females and 16 percent of males reporting that they had been sexually abused as children is low. This may approximate the numbers who remember it, but, as with other types of early trauma, the memories are often too painful and are suppressed.

Counselors who work in-depth with apparently normal adults rarely find anyone who hasn't suffered some kind of early sexual abuse, usually incest. The estimates I've seen would be around 95 percent for males and 99 percent for females. This is not always violent, but it is always painful emotionally, and leaves scars which are very difficult to remove, even with extensive therapy.

Because of the pervasive nature of incest inflicted on infants, a much greater effort needs to be made to educate parents and potential parents. The hopeful part of this is that incest, when discovered, is generally not repeated. For criminal offenders (the 1 percent or less who get caught), the recidivism rate is extremely low. We need to change our concept of children as the property of their parents, and include information on child sexual abuse in sex education courses.

Advertising of drugs, like alcohol, which alters people's judgment, also ought to be stopped. Many sexual abuse incidents are linked to alcohol intoxication.

Christy Lamzl
Tampa, Fla.

Contra aid

EVERY TIME THE CENTRAL AMERICAN NATIONS have been on the point of signing a Contadora peace proposal, the U.S. has intervened to prevent it.

We U.S. citizens who live and work here have watched the hopes for a negotiated settlement build, followed by hurried visits of Elliott Abrams and other U.S. emissaries, after which hopes collapse, and Reagan calls again for contra aid "to put pressure on Nicaragua to negotiate."

On August 7, the five nations of Central America took matters into their own hands and signed the peace initiative presented by President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica. While congratulations poured in from all over the world, and our own House and Senate voted overwhelming support, Reagan announced that he would call for more contra aid.

At this moment, aid to the contras, if passed, will confirm once and for all the suspicion that the U.S. really is not interested in peace, or negotiations, or the compromises they entail. Instead, the U.S. will be seen as bent on war, on killing those who disagree with our government's policies. How can we lead anyone toward peace with that image?

Contra aid must be stopped.

Margaret Metzinger
for U.S. Citizens in Costa Rica
Concerned for Peace

Screwed up?

PLEASE TELL ME I MISUNDERSTOOD THAT "In Short" headline (*ITT*, Sept. 9). Tell me the writer did not include "a bad screw" to mean Tammy Bakker.

I don't expect to see such revolting sexist references in such enlightened, progressive publications as yours. All women must be freed from such abusive stereotypes and identification with their sexuality instead of their gender, or none of us can be. Yes, even Tammy Bakker, dimwitted female chauvinist or not.

An apology would be nice.

Dolores M. Klein
Peoria, Ill.

Joel Bleifuss replies: My apologies for any misunderstanding. The intended reference was to Jessica Hahn's fateful encounter with Jim Bakker.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letter—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander

Soviet Nationalists boost glasnost

Pro-reform forces in the Soviet Union got a major boost last week with the public declaration by famous Russian nationalist painter Ilya Glazunov that he favors "glasnost and sides with Korotich." Vitali Korotich is the editor-in-chief of one of the most controversial and largest illustrated weekly *Ogonyok*. He is not a member of the Communist Party. Korotich had been appointed to his job by Alexander Yakoviev, Mikhail Gorbachov's right-hand man in charge of ideology and orchestrator of *glasnost*.

Glazunov was instrumental in setting up the Russian nationalist group Rodina (Motherland) in the mid-'60s. In the early '80s the most militant wing of Rodina formed what is now the largest anti-Semitic National-Bolshevik organization of the Soviet Union—Pamyat (Memory)—under the protection of the Ministry of Aviation Industry, Soviet military and the conservative wing of the Soviet Communist Party. Glazunov has continued to be one of the key patrons of the group with money and prestige. Three unprecedented one-man shows of Glazunov's work in one of the largest exhibit halls in Moscow had been attended by a million people each. Most of the comments in the show's visitors' book are the testimonies of the fervent following that Glazunov's Russian ethnic nationalism has in the Soviet Union. His paintings glorify icon-like women, Russian Orthodoxy and Communist Party officials. The last show, according to Moscow's rumor was sponsored by Raisa Gorbachov, Gorbachov's wife.

Glazunov's switch seems to have occurred because he understood that activities of his National-Bolshevik friends constitute a real danger to his benefactor and to the cultural liberalization under Gorbachov. Glazunov's switch will be taken seriously by other Russian nationalist intellectuals and hits hard at the legitimacy of groups like Pamyat. Although there is no indication that Glazunov's anti-Semitic views have been altered, now at least he is an "Anti-Semite for Gorbachov."

National-Bolshevism represents the single biggest threat to prospects for democratization in the Soviet Union. The movement's ideology combines virulent anti-Semitism with a total perversion of communist ideology, claiming the heritage of a thousand-year-old Russian Christian state. It finds support at the highest levels in the Soviet Communist Party leadership, which sees in it a force capable of preserving the Communist Party's monopoly on power.

For the last few months liberal supporters of Gorbachov have openly been asking him to take measures to restrain the National Bolsheviks, who have grown increasingly vocal over the last six months. In the wake of a march through the streets of Moscow by more than 400 members of one of the more active National-Bolshevik organizations early this May, several major newspapers carried articles attacking Pamyat and the movement in general.

The number of National-Bolsheviks and neo-Nazi organizations is mushrooming.

SOVIET NOTES

By Alexander Amerisov

Besides Pamyat (which is led by Communist Party member Kim Andreev and, we are told, has now something like 16 branches across the country, with the biggest in Moscow and the Siberian city of Novosibirsk), there are now Otechestvo ("Fatherland"), Motherland, Union of Free Youth, Young Russia and others.

Pamyat became so strong in Novosibirsk that the Communist Party was forced to suspend it because of its "attempts to supplant the Soviet authorities," according to *Sovetskaya Kultura*.

As a warning to the National-Bolsheviks Gorbachov supporters placed a story July 5 in the daily *Sovetskaya Rossiya*—the nationalists' best-loved paper—that a Pamyat activist in Novosibirsk, A. Kazantsev, a specialist in semi-conductors, was expelled from the Communist Party for his slanderous activities. Unofficial reports from Moscow say that Kazantsev accused academician Tatyana Zaslavskaya and academician Abel Aganbegyan, main advisers to Gorbachov on economic reforms, of being tools of international Zionism. Neither one of them is Jewish.

Health care

The authorities always presented Soviet medicine as one of the historic achievements of socialism, forgetting to mention that almost every developed country in the world today has medical care on demand (with a few exceptions, such as the U.S.).

The number of beds in Soviet hospitals—3.3 million—was supposedly a proof of this achievement. What Soviet propagandists failed to point out, according to a recent interview given to the daily *Sovetskaya Rossiya* (July 5) by Minister of Public Health Yevgeny Chazov, was that the "majority of them are just ordinary places to sleep." He also said that "35 percent of rural hospitals have no hot water, 27 percent have no sewage system and 17 percent have no running water."

On the other hand, what Mr. Chazov himself forgot to mention is that every regional center in the Soviet Union has a special hospital exclusively for that city's elite. These hospitals are very well equipped and staffed, and most of their beds stand empty most of the time. An ordinary mortal can be dying in front of them and not be let in.

Polish reforms

Truly historic changes have been promised in a document prepared by the Polish prime minister's office and discussed October 7 by ruling Politburo of the Polish Communist Party. The 39-page document, made available to United Press International, is sure to become law. The draft proposes sweeping reforms that include unprecedented direct elections of representatives to the lower chamber of the Polish Parliament. Under the proposal, the chamber's deputies will be elected locally in direct votes. The document also promises a dramatic reduction of restrictions on freedom of association and speech.

Although the document says that the Communist Party is no longer interested in "monopoly rule," it is not yet clear if other political parties will be permitted—the key

element by which any genuine democratization should be judged. Without political pluralism the election process will still be completely in the hands of the Communist Party. Still, the changes are historic because the elected chamber will have the right of veto on legislation, in effect limiting the Communist Party's corner on power. Such limits do not exist in any other Communist-ruled country.

The changes come at the time of a worsening economic crisis and growing political activism in Poland. By accepting the reforms the Polish Communist Party in effect concedes that its power is slipping. Greater political freedom for the Polish people in exchange for economic austerity—wage freezes and price hikes—seems the price that the Communist Party is forced to pay to prevent another Solidarity-type explosion.

A different set of new laws, which, as *In These Times* went to press, were due to be approved by the Polish Parliament, would unleash a private economic initiative. No longer will those who want to start businesses have to ask for government permission to do so; they will only have to register their businesses.

Such extensive political and economic reforms in Poland would not even be considered without explicit permission from the Soviet Union. Thus, they can be considered a harbinger of change in the USSR itself.

Privilege

Chernobyl's hero, Leonid Telytnikov, the fire chief who miraculously survived and was decorated for bravery in fighting the calamity, told the magazine *Smena* that he was ashamed of local Communist Party officials who abused their power after the disaster. The monthly *Yunost* (No. 6, 1987) reported that local top-level officials sent their children to Crimean rest homes immediately after the accident, while telling people from around the power plant settlement of Pripyat to go about their business as usual.

Checking accounts?

An overhaul of the Soviet banking system will begin as of Jan. 1, 1988. Right now there are only two banks in the Soviet Union for domestic transactions: Gosbank (or State Bank) and Srobybank, which finances construction. Their function is to be the nation's bookkeeper, a place where deposits, withdrawals and payments are made. Such things as lending and investment are virtually unknown at Soviet banks. Next year the Soviet banking system will begin to function more like the banking systems of capitalist countries, with the bank's profitability dictating its activities. In protecting their own interests, banks will make sure that the money they lend is being properly and profitably used. Using banks to manage the economy is a key to the success of Gorbachov's reform package.

In a step of progress, Soviet people will be permitted to have personal checking accounts. As of September they will be available to citizens of the Russian Republic, and later possibly to everybody.

Alexander Amerisov is editor of the Chicago-based newsletter "Soviet-American Review," and Soviet affairs commentator for National Public Radio's *Morning Edition*.

Join the Gray Panthers For an Unforgettable Experience:

SHARE RUSSIA WITH HER PEOPLE
on an exciting 10-day boat trip down the Dnieper River from Kiev to Odessa with 200 Soviet citizens. Spend four days in Moscow, three in Kiev, three in Odessa as well-- 22 days total during July, 1988.

Enjoy stimulating dialogue between American and Soviet activists about peace, health care, housing, older adult issues and intergenerationalism. Discuss the nuclear accident at Chernobyl with people who lived through its horror.

PRICE: BETWEEN \$2200 AND \$2700
(depending on cabin location)

To reserve one of the 150 spaces available on this adventure, send a \$25 deposit to:

Gray Panthers 1988 River Boat Trip
311 S. Juniper Street, Suite 611
Philadelphia, PA 19107

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Affiliation (Gray Panther, other): _____

- ☐ I have enclosed my \$25 deposit (Refundable until Jan. 1, 1988.)
☐ I would like more information about the trip.

After the Press Bus Left: Grenada, Four Years After

"A period of self-doubt is over.... History will record that one of the turning points came on a small island in the Caribbean where America went to take care of her own and to rescue a neighboring nation from a growing tyranny."

—Ronald Reagan

"We have sent a message to all of them that no man with a gun can ever hijack any country again. They won't threaten us with coups anymore, because Grenada is no longer there. Cuba can't help them no more and now we have the Stars and Stripes to protect us against them."

—John Compton, prime minister of St. Lucia

Few journalists bother with the Caribbean island of Grenada these days, and nearly four years after the U.S. invasion of Oct. 25, 1983, most newspapers and TV news programs are not even readying the dutiful paeans to "democracy restored" that were the staples of anniversary pieces in 1984 and 1985. So great is the indifference that two major affronts to democracy perpetrated earlier this year by Grenada's Prime Minister Herbert Blaize went entirely unreported in the U.S. press.

In July of this year Blaize's party, the New National Party, which now holds nine of the island's 15 parliamentary seats, passed an Emergency Powers Act giving the government sweeping powers of arrest, detention without trial and curfew. The bill can also be used to impose limits on public demonstrations and on the press. It is similar to legalization passed by Eric Gairy, the tyrant deposed by Maurice Bishop's New Jewel Movement, in 1979 and opposed by Blaize at the time. There is no evidence available to justify Blaize's claim that he needed these powers to combat remnants of the New Jewel Movement. Just as this aroused no comment in the U.S., Blaize's creation of a board to censor "politically sensitive songs that cannot be substantiated"—a measure aimed at calypso, which is a traditional vehicle for political protest in Grenada—was similarly ignored.

In fact, the staple of U.S. reportage—aside from silence or near-silence—has been the kind of glowing testimonials to progress lodged by Tom Wicker in the *New York Times* on Jan. 25, 1985 ("Grenada is peaceful again and has a new chance for prosperity"), or by Joseph Treaster in the same paper on Aug. 11, 1986 ("Grenada...is returning to the peaceful, easy-going rhythms of the English-speaking Caribbean...."). "The most important thing," said Leslie Pierre, editor of the weekly newspaper the *Grenadian Voice*, "is that people feel free."

Grenada is anything but free, sinking into the rhythms, far from easy-going, of underdevelopment that Bishop and his New Jewel Movement disrupted for a brief but noble season. The economic situation is bleak. The U.S. State Department said in 1986 that the Grenadian government "continues to follow a policy of providing individuals greater freedom to pursue economic goals by eliminating or reducing controls on wages, prices and foreign exchange, and encouraging private investment." Numerous state-run enterprises have been shut down, import-licensing requirements have been eased and price controls removed on many

goods and services.

Shipwrecked economy: The results have been disastrous. Unemployment, which doubled to around 28 percent after the invasion, has risen to 35 or 40 percent, with a rate of around 50 percent for young Grenadians, thus accounting for an emigration rate of 2,000 a year. Blaize recently aggravated the situation by announcing a layoff of 1,800 civil servants, more than half the 3,000 total. Protests forced him to reduce the amount to 900, but this still accounts for one out of every seven public employees.

Blaize's rationale for this lunatic strategy is that he needs the funds to develop facilities to attract foreign investment, engine of economic growth. In the wake of the invasion prominent U.S. businessmen were flown to the island and promised assistance by the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. But in the ensuing four years not one new industry has been created and there have been only three significant new foreign investments—a lease by the Ramada chain on Grenada's largest hotel and two factories producing surgical products and garments.

Tourism shows modest signs of growth but still falls far short of hoped-for targets. The famous airport denounced by the Reagan administration before the invasion as an expression of Soviet expansionism (it was actually designed by the British firm Plessey) is a ghost town. Civil Aviation Minister George McGuire blames this on bad publicity generated by "leftist sympathizers."

Blaize has been an ardent supply-sider, abolishing the progressive income tax and introducing a 20 percent value-added tax which has had the predictable effect of widening the gap between rich and poor. Blaize has claimed that the lower taxes will pay off in terms of increased economic activity and hence more revenue overall. But he's been wrong so far. The government is currently facing a public-sector deficit of 60 percent and is unable to meet payments on its \$50-million foreign debt, half the island's gross domestic product. The government is also returning lands taken over in Bishop's time as part of a program of agrarian reform. Where such return is impractical, compensation is being made in cash, thus further redistributing the island's wealth to the better-off.

In other words, Blaize has run Grenada into the ground and is kept afloat only by U.S. subsidies: \$75 million in the first two years, amounting to \$375 per Grenadian, per year. Funding in the last two years has been at a lower but still all-important rate: \$17 million in 1987, about 22 percent of the entire Grenadian budget.

If all this had happened in Bishop's time the U.S. press would have lost no time in charging reckless mismanagement and denouncing "doctrinaire socialist fanatics." But since Grenada has collapsed during the period of U.S. tutelage tactful silence is the order of the day. Under Bishop Grenada's economy did have problems, but was certainly healthier than it is now. In four and a half years the New Jewel Movement reduced unemployment from 50 percent to 14 percent, established a health system providing medical and dental care to all, re-

duced illiteracy from 35 percent to 5 percent of the population, gave equal rights to women and handed out thousands of acres of land to small farmers. Other achievements of Bishop included: 10 percent increase in real wages, a major increase in spending on education, interest-free loans to the poor for improved housing, free secondary education and four years of steady economic growth.

Most of these gains were wiped out with the invasion. Social service spending was immediately slashed, foreign aid personnel expelled. The adult literacy program was disbanded, the government claiming that it was using politically objectionable materials. The national health-care system, which relied on foreign personnel, particularly Cubans, no longer exists and medical services are less widely available. Crime, drug use and prostitution are all on the upswing.

Local business people, exuberant in the wake of the invasion, are now doleful at the wretched turn of events and look back wryly on dreams that Reagan's Caribbean Basic

The U.S. media ignores Grenada's sad post-invasion story.

Initiative would transform the entire region. To the contrary, the Caribbean countries have ended up competing unsuccessfully for U.S. capital, and the region's exports have actually fallen over the past few years. The U.S., indubitably popular with a substantial number of Grenadians in the traumatic aftermath of the murder of Bishop by the Coard clique, is no longer in good odor.

Even Blaize's coalition, the NNP, has broken up. This party was cobbled together of three separate groups and funded by U.S. right-wing groups such as the National Republican Institute for International Affairs, and by the National Endowment for Democracy and the Free Trade Union Movement, affiliated with the AFL-CIO and also funded by the NED. Unsurprisingly, the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) returned to Grenada after the invasion to carry out its task of subverting the union movement, or in the words of one U.S. report, "restructuring" it to prevent a

resurgence of radicalism. AIFLD's main partner in Grenada is the Seamen's and the Waterfront Workers' Unions. These two cooperated in giving classes to union members in "Political Theories and Systems." Workers were hired to paint out revolutionary slogans from the Bishop era. Shortly after the invasion a British trade union delegation reported [attempts] by American-trained and -backed Grenadians to remove elected union officers and take over some unions. Though AIFLD has had some successes the labor movement in Grenada remains fairly strong and independent.

Blaize without glory: Needless to say, the U.S. has been giving military assistance as well as designating \$15 million immediately after the invasion to train and equip the police force and army.

With the bloc welded together and funded by the U.S. collapsed, amidst the growing unpopularity of Blaize and economic failure, Blaize himself is showing signs of increasing eccentricity. He is fanatically anti-communist, announcing at a conference of the International Democratic Union in Washington in 1985 that "the price of freedom is eternal vigilance.... Communists never sleep. These people are eternally vigilant, and they are dedicated, and when they see a setback they do not accept it as a complete defeat; they use it as a means of coming back again, because they have a lot of patience and a lot of greed." He ended this address by appealing to the audience to join him in singing "Bind Us Together, Lord." When Reagan visited Grenada in February 1986 Blaize called him "our rescuer after God."

The left is still demoralized (and the Coardites entirely discredited). The Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement could do fairly well in the next elections. Local government elections, previously postponed, are to be held by the end of the year, with new presidential elections scheduled for 1989. For a hint of what the future holds, barring a socialist renaissance, one has to look at the dismal paradigms of Puerto Rico, Jamaica under Seaga or the analogy of the Dominican Republic since the U.S. invasion of 1965.

In sum, Grenada since the invasion has been a textbook case of failure, and it would take an honest journalist or TV producer about five minutes to establish the fact—which is about five minutes more than the U.S. press is now prepared to give an island on which the U.S. press once massed to hail the greatest military triumph of the Reagan administration. ■

WALK AGAINST THE WAR IN EL SALVADOR

National Walk-a-thon for Justice & Peace with the People of El Salvador

Saturday, October 24, 1987

Every day the U.S. government sends \$2 million to carry out the war in El Salvador. On October 24th we have an important opportunity to send a different kind of aid to the Salvadoran people who are working for an end to war and for social justice.

Join With Thousands of Others Throughout the Country and
Take a Big Step for Peace.

Edward Asner, actor
Coosje van Bruggen, art historian
Allan Burns, writer and producer
David Clennon, actor, *Missing*
Richard Gere, actor
Ronnie Gilbert, singer
Raul Julia, actor

Holly Near, singer/activist
Claes Oldenburg, sculptor
Pete Seeger, singer
Oliver Stone, screen writer and
director, *Platoon* and *Salvador*
Peter Yarrow, performer/activist

Walks taking place in 26 communities across the country.

To join the Walk Against the War in your area contact:

CISPES, P.O. Box 12056, Washington, D.C. 20005 202-265-0890

Corazon Aquino: The Story of a Revolution

By Lucy Komisar
George Braziller, 208 pp., \$15.95

Imelda Marcos: The Rise and Fall of One of the World's Most Powerful Women

By Carmen Navarro Pedrosa
St. Martin's Press, 224 pp., \$15.95

By James B. Goodno

RARELY DO TWO WOMEN HAVE as great an impact on their nation's political life and the world's consciousness as Corazon Aquino and Imelda Marcos did in 1986. Last year the two Filipinas became more than rich and powerful—or once-powerful—individuals. They became international symbols of good and evil in the world of politics.

In the process of becoming symbols, shrouds of myth and rumor descended on the two women. Cory could do no wrong. Imelda could do no good. Of course, the myths were based on some truth. In 1986, Cory was good, even heroic and Imelda was bad. Cory led a crusade against a violent and greedy dictatorship. Imelda was an equal partner in that dictatorship. She and her husband ruled with an iron fist and with the best interests of Ferdinand and Imelda at heart.

The myths, however, enveloped and masked the human beings behind them. When Cory Aquino became a myth she lost her weaknesses and much of her past. The mythical Cory Aquino was a simple middle-class housewife. The real Cory Aquino was the daughter of one of the country's wealthiest provincial families. The mythical Cory Aquino was a political neophyte. The real Cory Aquino grew up in a politically powerful family and married one of the shrewdest politicians the Philippines ever produced. The myths about Cory Aquino served to hide the woman whose strengths, weaknesses and beliefs would direct her nation through an unprecedented upheaval.

If the shoe fits: Clashes between myth and reality were also significant in the image presented by Imelda Marcos as she became the global symbol of evil and gross overconsumption. There was, however, a difference between the fairy-tale life of Cory and that of Imelda. Cory Aquino seemed to simply settle into the myths she was comfortable with. She never actually denied her reality.

Imelda, on the other hand, aggressively manufactured myths about herself, her husband and their pasts. Imelda desperately wanted to be recognized as part of Manila's aristocracy. It was an elite she claimed to be born into. She wasn't. Despite the elite maiden name—Romualdez—Imelda Mar-



Corazon Aquino and Imelda Marcos: Pedigreed aristocrat and middle-class social climber.

Imelda and Cory bios: hit and myth

cos had to claw her way to the top. Once there she let avarice and jealousy take over. The myth hid her past. It hid the motives that led her to assert her power first over her wealthy relations, then over members of Manila's traditional elite and finally over the nation. Imelda's myth was a repulsive fantasy that she and her husband promoted to the end and that when mingled with reality led to suffering not only for her people, but in the end for herself.

That Imelda and Cory were shrouded in myths made them even more appealing subjects for biographers. Unfortunately, only one of the books under consideration here succeeds at unravelling the myths and revealing the subject, her frailties, motivations and actions. That's Carmen Navarro Pedrosa's *Imelda Marcos*. Lucy Komisar's study of Cory Aquino is too obviously the product of a publisher's deadline and an author with limited prior knowledge of her subject and her subject's culture and society.

Bio number two: *Imelda Marcos* is the author's second biography of the dictator's wife. In 1969 a Philippine publisher issued Pedrosa's first book, *The Untold Story of Imelda Marcos*. That book chronicled Imelda's early years. It directly challenged the Marcos-generated myth of Imelda's aristocratic background. The book was eventually quashed. It reappeared on the shelves of Manila's bookstores only after the fall of the old regime. The old book became a best seller.

In *Imelda Marcos*, Pedrosa describes how Imelda was transformed from "poor relation" to powerhouse by her marriage to Ferdinand Marcos. (The two were wed 11 days after they first met.) When they married in 1954 Marcos was still a young congressman from

the provinces struggling to enter the capital's high society. Together Ferdinand and Imelda fought their way to the top through the rugged and dirty game of Filipino politics. Imelda was, in her earlier years, a natural at the game. She used her beauty, charm and determination to aid her husband. In later years, however, Imelda would become a political liability. Her earlier strength would be sapped by her subsequent behavior.

Pedrosa is especially strong on Imelda's early years. It's through the chapters on the young Imelda, based on interviews with relatives and others who knew her as a child, that we meet the girl who became the woman and get a sense of why Imelda became the woman the world learned to hate.

Molding Imelda: Pedrosa introduces a girl struggling to overcome being an outcast in her own family—shunned not only by her wealthy

Unlike Aquino, Imelda Marcos aggressively manufactured myths about herself, her husband and their pasts.

cousins, but also by her own step-sisters and, for a time, her own father. The portrait is not unsympathetic (although the portrait of the adult Imelda is deservedly harsh). Imelda's hardships were real, but instead of being strengthened by them Imelda was crippled. She was captured by the petty jealousies and desires of a middle-class girl longing to be rich.

The author argues convincingly that Imelda's early difficulties and her emotional response to them led directly to her ruthless partnership with her husband. One can see her unbridled ambition and envy leading her first to conquer her family, then high society and finally the whole nation. One can also see it leading to her downfall. Her gross addiction to wealth and its trappings became first a cause for embarrassment and then for outrage in the impoverished Philippines and around the world.

Imelda Marcos is satisfying not because it's the definitive biog-

PHILIPPINES

raphy of Imelda Marcos, but because it gives the reader a sense of the woman behind the myth. Lucy Komisar's *Corazon Aquino: The Story of a Revolution* is far less satisfying for precisely the opposite reason. It fails to deliver more than a superficial sense of who Cory Aquino is and where she comes from.

Earlier this year I visited Cory's family's *hacienda*. Hacienda Luisita was purchased by Cory's father in the '50s and is now run by the president and her siblings. It resembles, in my mind, an antebellum southern plantation. The president and her brothers and sisters maintain large country homes surrounded by shade trees near the golf course, country club and stables, while the bulk of the employees live in poor villages on the plantation where even the drinking water is muddy. Migrant workers are even worse off. During the harvest season they stay in crowded, fly-infested barracks—like horses in a stable. Cory's brother's race horses, on the other hand, are kept in air-conditioned stables.

That trip demonstrated Corazon Cojuangco Aquino's place in Philippine society better than any article, interview or action could. It's a trip that I wonder if Komisar made. Her book fails to convey what it means to grow up wealthy in a semi-colonial Third World setting. Komisar has the basic facts down. She tells

of Cory's aristocratic background, of her education in Catholic schools in Manila, Philadelphia and New York, of her family's social conservatism and political power and of her marriage to Marcos' leading foe, Benigno S. Aquino Jr. But sometimes the simple facts are not enough.

Most observers of the Philippine president agree that family and church shaped and continue to shape her. Komisar doesn't focus enough attention on these influences. The importance of religion resurfaces throughout the book, but it's never given considered attention. And Komisar's chapter on Cory growing up takes all of five pages.

Cory without context: Aside from her publisher's deadline and her own limited knowledge at the start of the research, Komisar faced other problems in writing a biography. She was denied access to the president and many of her relatives. (The Aquinos were more forthcoming than the Cojuangcos.) She also failed to develop alternative sources knowledgeable about the president's early years. This forced her to depend on written accounts in the Philippine press and on the interviews with politicians and others more familiar with the mature Aquino.

Ultimately Komisar chose to weave a simple biography of Aquino into a history of the Philippines since Ninoy's 1983 assassination. We get some sense of Aquino's development, but more a journalistic account of the final years of the Marcos regime and the first of Aquino's rule. Komisar's running account makes a passable outline, but no more.

I read Komisar's book before reading Pedrosa's and was, needless to say, disappointed. Oddly, Pedrosa's book made Komisar's seem worthwhile. That's partially because Pedrosa's book provided some background and context for Komisar's parade of facts.

More enjoyable, however, was being able to compare Cory's life with Imelda's. Middle-class social climber Imelda aspired to the mythic mantle of aristocracy; aristocrat Cory now rules, however tenuously, still somewhat shrouded in the myth of a simple middle-class housewife.

Most ironic is their relations with their husbands. Ferdinand Marcos treated Imelda as a partner and even groomed her to replace him. Benigno Aquino, on the other hand, kept Cory in the background—at least until he was imprisoned. Old politicians remember Cory serving coffee or caring for the children. It's ironic then that Imelda should never taste the formal political power that now belongs to Cory Aquino.

James B. Goodno is *In These Times'* correspondent in the Philippines.

Kurt Vonnegut's abstract expressions

Bluebeard

By Kurt Vonnegut
Delacorte, 312 pp., \$17.95

By Paul Skenazy

WHAT IS IT ABOUT KURT Vonnegut that makes his work so special to so many people? He's been pumping out words for more than three decades. His books continue to sell well, and some of them, like *Cat's Cradle* and *Slaughterhouse-Five*, have an undeniable cult status. But all Vonnegut's tales have their dull, flat sections, and that mild and undemonstrative voice of his can become a drone. His satire, if embattled, love for America and its mad version of civilization is heartening to the disenchanted but hardly original. And if he's often brilliant at pointing to the emperor's nakedness, he barely suggests how we might clothe the monarch more decently.

To be cynical, you could say his fame rests on the easy wisdoms he offers with his winsome, playful one-liners and his resistance to taking himself, or art, or writing, too seriously. And there is that dependable Vonnegut tone, too, which incorporates inanities and inhumanities, and keeps trying to storytell its way to sanity. However unsuspenseful a narrative device that voice sometimes seems, it's a voice you can trust to keep poking holes in the social fabric. Vonnegut is not going to let God have the last laugh at the bad joke called life; like so many of his heroes, one imagines him benignly, if resignedly, thumbing his nose at the heavens.

Self-negating art: *Bluebeard* is Vonnegut's 13th novel, and a classic example of its kind—endearing enough to disarm criticism, bland enough to warrant some, and finally so effective that the whole issue of judgment more or less fades into pleasure and admiration. It purports to be the autobiography of Rabo Karabekian, whom we met a few Vonnegut books ago (in *Breakfast of Champions*) as a snotty minimalist painter who created huge, overpriced canvas fields of color crossed by strips of reflecting tape. Now, years later and something of a comic footnote to art history (all of his paintings self-destructed because of the paint's reaction to canvases, tape glue and air), Rabo takes a few months to record his life's story with special emphasis on "this past troubled summer."

We ramble back through time from his cushy mansion in East Hampton to the Turkish extermination of the Armenians that turned his parents into exiles in Egypt. Snookered out of their fortunes (and future) by promises of milk and honey in San Ignacio, Calif., where Rabo's scholarly father be-

comes a poor cobbler, Rabo grows up with a masterful facility for illustration and a failed immigrant's despair as his legacy.

From there, fitful jumps take him first to New York City, where a woman's loneliness and her lover/painter's cruelty provide Rabo with a fortuitous if fractious apprenticeship to famous illustrator Dan Gregory; then to a camouflage unit in World War II consisting entirely of artists; and then to the loss of an eye in combat, which leaves Rabo a Cyclopean painter. After the war, Rabo bankrolls a bunch of improvident Abstract Expressionist artists (and gets repaid in canvases they can't sell elsewhere), loses his wife and two sons, has his own brief moment of glory, and watches as the geniuses of the movement burn themselves out in success.

Abstract depressionism: Then there's the story of the troubled summer. Rabo lives in the mansion he inherited from his second wife, where he feels like something of a "museum guard" to the collection of Abstract Expressionist master-

Vonnegut sets up his political salvos with the skill of a Woody Allen who's finally managed to forget himself for a while.

pieces that cover the walls. Novelist Paul Slazinger occasionally shares his digs, and the two men are taken up by a beautiful younger woman named Circe Berman, who is spending the summer writing her late husband's biography.

It is Circe who adds new threat and meaning to Rabo's world with his insistent questions and very different artistic taste. The conflict between her insufferably energetic if haunted will and his indifference provides the admittedly artificial tension that keeps Rabo's reminiscences readable.

As a psychological document, or pseudodocument, *Bluebeard* is a rambling, gangly piece of work, meandering from vignette to vignette, and afraid of its own emotional material. To Vonnegut's credit, he can write more or less humorously about just about anything. On the other hand, he can't seem to, or won't, look misery in the face for more than an instant. Here, as elsewhere in his work, the flippancy shoves the pain aside, and charming brief scenes substitute for the record of people's attachments and experiences over time.

But plot is more the excuse than the purpose of *Bluebeard*, some-

thing like a spider web to catch the random whims and whimsies of Vonnegut's own flighty imagination. As a writer, Vonnegut functions like the Fool in Shakespeare's plays, his characters mere masks and fronts for a comic soothsayer's meditations. He's a master of the anecdote, giving inordinate weight and significance to gossip about a tailor, a cobbler's mumbled asides, the war experiences of the women servants at an Italian villa, or the thumbnail biographies of Rabo's neighbors.

Vonnegut sets up his political salvos—whether about Nancy Reagan and drugs, or our tastes in

art, or what men do to women—with the skill of a Woody Allen who's finally managed to forget about himself for a while. And he fills his books with so many suggestive metaphors, like Rabo's one-eyed condition and self-erasing paint, that you finally believe he's not so much graceless as a narrator as someone who's just abandoned the constraints of conventional narrative.

Bluebeard's hang-ups: The title of the novel comes from the legend of Bluebeard, who kept one room which he forbade a new bride to enter (and where all the former brides who couldn't resist tempta-

tion were hung for their intrusion). Rabo has a secret, too: a potato barn that used to be his studio, which he keeps locked away from Circe's prying and Paul's inquisitiveness and the reader's desire to peek without having to pay the emotional and moral price of admission. When we finally do "see" what's in there, we discover more meaning in illusion than we know what to do with. It's in sly if silly little games like this that Vonnegut really shines.

Vonnegut's way is to do a little jig around ideas, a verbal two-step that is something between a guerrilla action and a hummingbird's erratic attacks on a flower. That unstable combination is what keeps his readers absorbed and his art buoyant, however gloomy his worldview. Hidden inside his shenanigans in *Bluebeard* is a study of history, memory and art. Rabo's personal story is meant to remind us of how Americans pretend to a convenient historical amnesia that lets us ignore our role in what Rabo calls "the genocide century."

Rattling the backward-looking brain cells into animation, Vonnegut is also exploring the ways artists have, and might, serve our culture's need to know what we have done to ourselves and others. Painters and writers of every kind litter *Bluebeard's* pages: Rabo's mentor Dan Gregory with his sentimental illustrative precision and hatred of modernism, Rabo's own abortive careers as illustrator, abstract painter and now writer, Circe Berman's multiple lives as a biographer and (under a pseudonym) the author of teenage "problem" novels, Paul Slazinger's arty fictions.

And most importantly, there are the Abstract Expressionists, who created the first art movement to originate in America. As Rabo and Vonnegut muse on the artistic desires and deaths of painters real (Arshile Gorky, Pollack, Rothko) and imagined (Terry Kitchen, Rabo's closest friend in the novel, and another suicide), they make us think about abstract canvases ("about absolutely nothing but themselves"), representational work, and what we agree as writers and painters and readers and lookers to allow to be represented to us about us.

By the time we're done, we realize that Vonnegut has managed to make us laugh our way through a study of men at war—in and with themselves, with the women who serve and are abused by them, with other times and cultures they seek to dominate, with the ways they've learned to recreate and relish their world in art. Like the patch he wears over his wounded eye, Rabo's good will conceals an incapacity we're a bit ashamed to acknowledge to others: our self-generated blindness.

Paul Skenazy teaches literature at the University of California in Santa Cruz.



©1987 Peter Hannan

Mellencamp's mature strains

The Lonesome Jubilee

By John Mellencamp
Mercury/Polygram Records

By George Paaswell

WITH FAMILY BY HIS SIDE John Cougar Mellencamp sits back, looks around him and sees things pretty clearly now. He's not as angry as he once was. And what anger or angst he has he uses differently. Welcome to 1987's John Cougar Mellencamp. He's changed so much he'd like to drop the Cougar from his name, but his record company won't let him. (Against his wishes, the cover for his new record uses his "middle" name.)

If a word can describe his life now, it's stability—the kind that having a constant friend, steady (and fun) work, a regular life can bring. Stability has long been thought the nemesis of rock and roll, from Robert Johnson through Elvis right on down to today's artists who sing about cars and travelling. Rock and roll is not a stable art form.

Until recently, that is. Some artists now sing in praise of stability and the happiness it has brought them. Chrissie Hynde of the Pretenders writes songs about marriage and her children and the happiness of each. David Byrne of Talking Heads has settled into a steady pattern of song-writing, with increasing attention paid to children and middle-age. And stability affects more than what these people sing about, it affects how they sing about it. The Talking Heads no longer are edgy about their art, but rather, their art has become mun-

dane, common.

Stable boys: Other artists react differently to stability. Some, once they have found it, rest on their laurels. Still others take the opportunity and stop—just stop, and reflect. Thus we get five-record live sets, greatest hits collections and recording hiatuses—depending on the artist. John Cougar Mellencamp has stability in his life. He has a steady, relatively easy job, unlike the subjects of his songs. He's neither a farmer going out of busi-

MUSIC

ness nor an unemployed laborer, but a rock star with several top-ten hits and million-selling records.

His new album, *The Lonesome Jubilee*, shows us just how secure he has become. He's a musician living in a small town, surrounded by his friends, family and recording studio. He is Small Town's chronicler, booster and critic. He makes sense of it, if not to us, then at least to himself, where it counts the most. His stability is a source of creativity for him.

Mellencamp looks back on his life with a wide-angle lens and sees not only where he's been but where the people now around him have been. His visions and thoughts about his reflections gave us the earlier *Scarecrow*, an album of rare insight and depth. Aside from the overtly political lyrics, the music paid homage to two decades of rock and roll in an offhandedly intentional way.

The personal changes Mellencamp's gone through have been reflected on his albums. On his last two releases, *Uh Huh* and *Scarecrow*, the change has been the most

marked, with Mellencamp passing from angry and bitter (*Uh Huh*) to angry and optimistic (*Scarecrow*). The bitterness stemmed from his inability to get his message across because he was always at the mercy of producers and managers. The bitterness became optimism only after Mellencamp realized that some of his goals could be attained without fancy packaging: It dawned on him that sometimes simpler can be better.

The lonesome Cougar: On this latest, *Lonesome Jubilee*, the first sounds to come through, besides the slightly out-of-tune guitar chord and tight beat, are sounds of maturity. John Cougar Mellencamp has forever (spiritually, at least) left the Cougar out, and is now just plain John Mellencamp. He has toned down, in almost every way, and has matured (some would say

Mellencamp moves forward with *The Lonesome Jubilee*, but in so doing he leaves some of himself behind.

just gotten older) to the point where recalling life is almost as much fun as living it. Fun has been defined in a more cerebral way: more thinking and less drinking.

Where *Scarecrow* seethes with frustrated desire, *Jubilee* contains a less claustrophobic pessimism. Mellencamp is no longer at the mercy of unrestrained emotion and meddling technicians. At home in his own studio he has the time to

reexamine himself and his subjects. Until *Scarecrow* he had been packaged and sold as something else—as Johnny Cougar, the new David Bowie, or as John Cougar, an angry young man, etc. With *Scarecrow* he came through with a sound he wanted. It was Mellencamp's watershed album. In interviews he told us he liked the record. In the *Billboard* charts, people told him they liked the record. Here he was, finally being honest with himself, at least more honest than he had been, and people accepted it. He could put his soul on vinyl and it would sell, without his having to sell his soul.

The nervous energy of this break-out could be felt in songs such as "Face of the Nation" and "Between a Laugh and a Tear." He said his piece with strength, and the lyrics clashed with and yet complemented the music. Still, sounds and beats derivative of earlier songs surfaced—the start/stop of "Jack and Diane" was still a handy device, as was the stylistically simple riffs found in "Hurt So Good"—undermining his faith in his current work.

This stylistic back-peddalling meant that any new ground he tried to cover ended up sounding simple and sometimes simplistic. In contrast the album had an excess of verbal energy, too many thoughts and directions. And this was the album's main problem—because he didn't know exactly where he wanted the record to go, it stayed mostly on the surface of the issues. The end result was a hard-rocking album that raised agricultural and cultural issues, but didn't follow through on promises implied. We needed more than just a cataloguing of issues and their effects on us; we needed to get into the picture and see why they affected us.

Mellencamp gets crafty: *The Lonesome Jubilee* offers 10 new slices of life from Mellencamp. This time he's not looking back as much as he's looking at the present, around himself. Although this album is intensely more personal than *Scarecrow*, he still avoids commitment. But now that avoidance has a positive aspect. It enables him to get involved in the character of the song on a deeper level than he had previously. He builds each song from the inside out and as a result he sounds confident and less angry. He presents characters that are "real life people," but without false images or false ideals.

On *Lonesome Jubilee* he makes fewer sweeping generalizations about how bad everything is, from Reagan to the U.S. farm policy. This time he takes apart the complaints, and in "Down and Out in Paradise" puts them together in letter form ("Dear Mr. President..."). Each letter tells one person's dilemma and how he or she stumbled into it: an un-

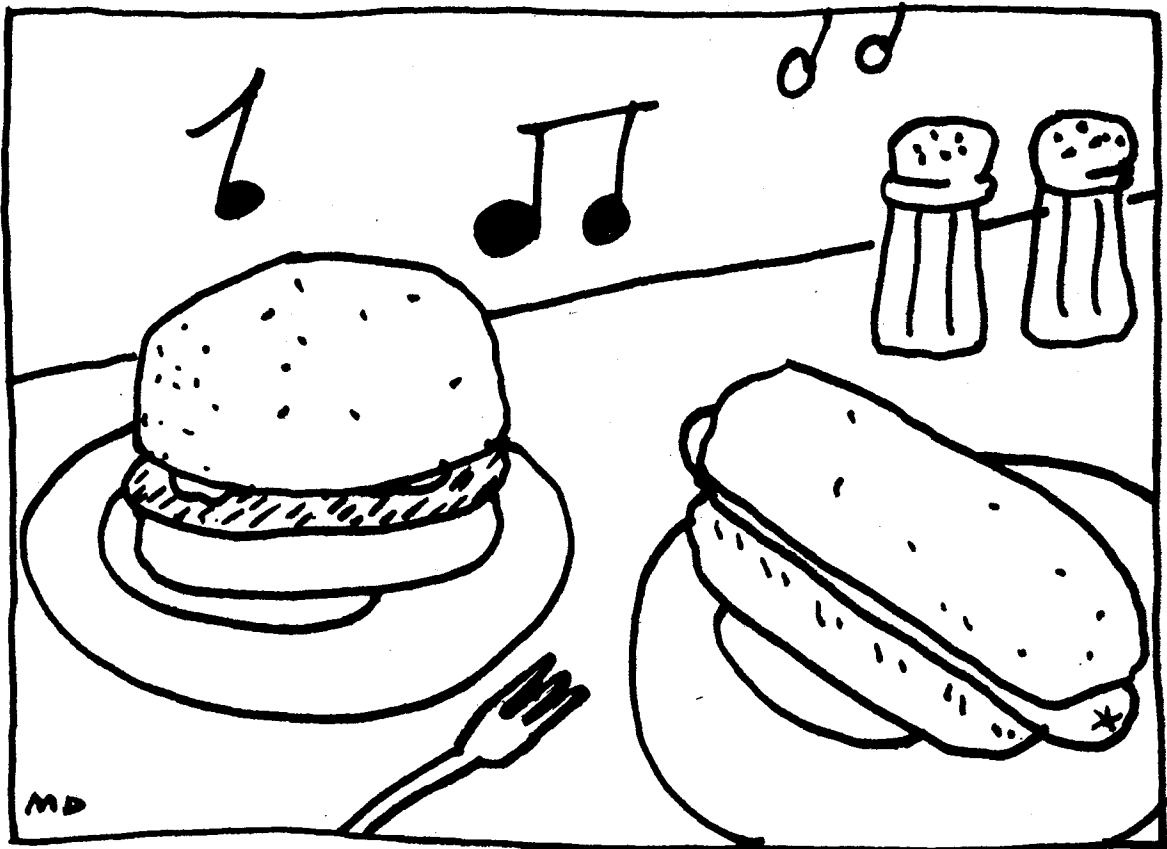
employed company man; a dancer-turned - secretary - turned - vagabond; a young kid with alcoholic parents. While they don't indict anyone for these problems, they seek answers, too late, from a force strong enough to ignore them. It's as if they don't recognize the political context of their problems until it is too late to change. These people fall prey to America as Paradise under Reagan, and they can't figure out why they don't have what they should.

The calm after the storm: Although Mellencamp moves forward with *The Lonesome Jubilee*, in so doing he leaves some of himself behind. His calm recollections of shattered dreams and alienation are presented as snapshots. Here they are, he says, look and then decide what you feel. He delivers plenty of feeling in the songs, expressions of doubt and bitterness delivered in both music and lyrics. Listening to "Hot Dogs and Hamburgers," for instance, is like sitting in a bar by yourself, remembering all the fun you used to have there when your friends were around. It's a deserted feeling—but no all-out, "Look at this goddam situation we're in! What can we do about it?" He offers no conclusions. And while he made such angry declarations often on the last record, he states his demands more quietly now, and asks more subtle questions. Perhaps he really is just getting wiser as he gets older. Maybe his anger has burnt itself out. Exhortation has been replaced by acceptance.

But acceptance does not come easy. The tension it creates surfaces often on *Jubilee*, especially in "Hot Dogs and Hamburgers" and "Hard Times for an Honest Man." Where *Scarecrow*'s "Face of the Nation" raised the obvious (and obviously rhetorical) questions of Where did our country go wrong? and Is this all there is to the American promise?, *Lonesome Jubilee*'s "Hard Times for an Honest Man" demands more than rhetorical answers.

Mellencamp delivers on *Lonesome Jubilee*—it's just harder to see it. Perhaps, looking back, he doesn't see the sense in shouting. Or maybe he just thinks through his shouting more carefully, and forces that thought onto the vinyl. But because Mellencamp already understands the meaning of the answers before he hears them, he's not so sure he wants to demand them in a loud voice. He knows the answers to his questions will be the song "Down and Out in Paradise." The stability in his life has more than anything given him the time to reflect. Mellencamp hasn't mellowed, but calmed himself. He knows that putting on an angry pose will do him no more good than shouting at a brick wall. ■

George Paaswell is a Chicago-based rock critic.



By Anne-christine d'Adesky

DISTINGUISHING THE EROTIC and sexual from the pornographic continues to preoccupy many filmmakers, especially in this age of Christian right-wing morality. For American gay men and lesbians, the desire to present unadulterated images of homosexual life and fantasy remains a challenge, both artistic and political.

Aside from the obvious barrier of censorship—including self-censorship—there are the tricky personal obstacles of political correctness or overt vs. covert imagery, and in the broadest terms, of publicly exploring a subject—homosexuality—whose very nature and activities remain controversial and illicit within mainstream society.

Given such barriers, it is particularly satisfying to see that gay filmmakers have continued to come out of the celluloid closet to make films that are powerful, erotic, funny, angry and blatantly homosexual, with a repetitious, fragmented, illusory, overt, solarized and optically-manipulated emphasis on sex.

There were 60 such films on view at the recent First Lesbian and Gay Experimental Film Festival held at New York City's Millenium Film Workshop in September. Not all of them were concerned with issues of sex and gender per se, but with the subtle question of gay identity and perspective, or, simply put, "What constitutes gay film?"

Jauntily titled, "A Queer Kind of Film" by curators Jim Hubbard and Sarah Schulman, the festival offered an exhaustive range of works by established avant-gardists such as James Broughton and Joel Singer, Barbara Hammer and Su Friedrich, as well as by lesser-known but polished artists such as Tom Chomont, Vivian Ostrovsky and co-curator Hubbard. All of the filmmakers were gay- or lesbian-identified filmmakers; the films included experimental documentary and fiction works, short "personal" films and a rare selection of 1890s film commercials with clear gay undertones.

Erotic oblivion: Tom Chomont has been making films since the late '60s and has developed a bold cinematic style. His erotic film *Oblivion* conveys his attraction to men and their bodies through languid pans with the camera and a flawless, deeply sensual editing style. *Oblivion* begins slowly, like other Chomont films, layering solarized images of men over images of city skylines and lights. The screen is bathed in an intense red glaze; a washed-out face surfaces then disappears as the screen flashes red to suggest the intensity of sexual climax.

Chomont prefers to tease the viewer with partial images that often begin as softened shapes, an abstracted canvas of stark black and luminescent whites that may

shift slowly or abruptly to reveal a play of bodies. His method of building up images forces the viewer to participate in Chomont's presentation of desire, of the beauty and sensuality he experiences looking at men. What is clear in Chomont's films is that an erotic image is something created; what counts is the artist's sensibility.

In the case of veteran California filmmakers James Broughton and Joel Singer, an ingredient of eroticism is the concept of something forbidden or hidden. Their primary imagistic terrain is also the male body, but they take a 180-degree departure from Chomont's suggestive tableaux. Broughton and Singer represent a wave of American gay men's history—the spiritual, nature-oriented community—that seeks to reclaim all that is mystical and transcendent about the body.

Their *Song of the Godbody* is the perfect evocation of this philosophy. The film opens with an extreme close-up of a navel accompanied by a violin score, and slowly moves over the body, offering us super close-ups of the penis as Broughton recites his poetic homage to the male "Godbody."

Cinematically, Broughton and Singer are very accomplished. Singer's *Garden of Eden*, shot in Sri Lanka, shows fine editing that creates a constantly dissolving pattern of flowers, leaves and rivers. Their early *Pleasure Garden*, totally unlike their other films, is a whimsical gem, a droll silent movie of the fantasies of men and women who meet in an overgrown park.

This early film appears pre-gay male utopia, when the duo were more interested in telling a story the conventional way, in the tradition of the silent American films.

Experimental Hammer: At one point in her career, Barbara Hammer probably crossed Broughton and Singer's path in California and

FILM

found herself looking into a mirror, sort of. Her early films like the 1975 *Multiple Orgasm* offer a visual lesbian counterpart to their no-nonsense celebration of the penis, with a six-minute film about—what else?—multiple orgasm.

Hammer's career is particularly interesting to follow. In the two decades since she began working in film she has moved away from a traditional way of filming women's bodies to newer experiments with technology. Her most recent work, *Optic Nerve*, is a veritable tour-de-force, a melding of her technical mastery with the optical printer, and her by-now seasoned camera approach to filming women. The subject here is her dying grandmother, and it is clear that however fragmented or layered an

image Hammer presents, she has learned how to express the complex challenge such portraiture embodies.

It is often difficult to categorize films like Hammer's, which could fall into the category of personal documentary since they clearly document a phenomenon (multiple orgasm), or a movement ('70s lesbian life).

Other films in the festival also dispel easy categorization. *You Can't Die from Not Sleeping* (Harriet Hirshorn, Donna Stern, Sandy Silverman, Colleen McDonald) is an eight-minute black-and-white film about homeless women in a New York City shelter. Nothing is overtly lesbian about the film (although several lesbians are among the homeless women, but are not identified as such), yet it can be argued that the unusually human presentation of these homeless women stems from a deeply-felt love of women, and an appreciation of their individuality that few male filmmakers achieve.

The blurred lines between documentary fiction within the gay avant-garde are particularly interesting when it comes to documentary footage that is visu-

Given the barriers, it is satisfying to see gay filmmakers continue to come out of the celluloid closet to make films that are powerful, erotic, funny, angry and blatantly homosexual.

ally manipulated by the filmmaker. Jim Hubbard's *Homosexual Desire in Minnesota* could be called a documentary as a chronicle of the gay movement—gay pride marches, gay protests, home movie scenes of drag life—yet the celluloid image has been so visually distorted that it becomes a personal rendering of history. Hubbard's use of a hand-processing method to develop the images is noteworthy; sometimes the images are heightened by the process, sometimes they are subdued, the process giving new interpretations to conventionally filmed events.

Spice of life: With a slate of more than 60 films, it is obviously difficult to locate any central themes among gay or lesbian filmmakers, besides the desire to present their lives and experiences in an open way. Where Broughton and Hammer represent the first wave of utopian gay life, with its emphasis on the blending of the homosexual body and spirit, filmmakers such as Jack Waters, Leslie Howe, Uzi Parnes (with Ela Troyano and Carl Michael George), have followed with visions of urban homosexual life that give a humorously perverse twist to the '70s gay/lesbian interests in nature and ritual).

Here gay has become urbane and chic, and in the mid-'80s on Manhattan's Lower East Side, that translates into Performance with a capital P, gothic, high drama camp à la *Rocky Horror Picture Show*. George's *The Last 40 days* takes place in his apartment, and consists of a campy fantasy film with a drag queen acting out various scenes: in the disguise of an ancient Egyptian goddess; as a six-armed Indian Shiva; as "The Queen of Every Hive," a sort of "Queen Bee" (literally) reigning over her domain (the apartment floor painted with a giant hive pattern). It's a funny, home-grown style of filmmaking that, unlike Broughton and Singer's reverential evocations, dares you to take it seriously. Of course it is serious, to the extent that every gay man might want to be Nefertiti.

Among the festival's highlights was the premiere of Su Friedrich's *Damned If You Don't*, billed as the sexual awakening of a nun. It's actually a coming-out film in which Friedrich deftly explores the strictures of religious life using television excerpts of *Black Narcissus* to reveal the intense sexual and sensual underpinnings of contemporary Christianity. In this new film Friedrich chooses a more conventional path to story-telling, including a wryly funny voice-over summary of the television drama, and reminiscences of a Catholic girl's school days.

Friedrich, Hammer, Hirshorn, Parnes and Chomont. They are only a handful of gay and lesbian filmmakers to keep an eye on, and to appreciate for what they have already created.

■
Anne-christine d'Adesky is a frequent contributor to *In These Times*.

IN THESE TIMES OCT. 14-20, 1987 21



Tom Chomont's *Oblivion*: a bold cinematic style and a willingness to experiment.

Gay and lesbian filmmakers still sing the body eclectic

Labor

Continued from page 11

to labor studies professor Andy Banks, chairman of the Florida Jobs With Justice Committee. They have dramatized cases of victimized workers.

The campaign has planned its first "pledge" action against a meeting of the major national non-union construction association and may mount support for striking football players. They have plans for research on sentiments on worker rights among members of unions and coalition partners, such as the Florida Consumers Federation. And they're setting up worker abuse action councils with free "800" telephone numbers to encourage worker calls, then follow up with protests at work sites.

Unions "say we represent all workers," Banks said, "but a lot of our actions don't look that way." So the campaign will reach out to defend and involve non-union workers, although "the only real answer to worker abuse is to join a union."

Although the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO is coordinating the project nationally, Jobs With Justice will be highly decentralized. State coalitions will decide on

their own strategies. "The plan is not to have this monster coming out of Washington telling people what to do," Rosenthal said.

If the campaign takes off, it could be a vital counterforce to labor's declining sense of solidarity and a source of revitalization for the movement. In the early postwar period a "flying squadron" of workers ready to join picket lines on behalf of any strike strengthened autoworkers in the Detroit area, but it was disbanded. Will union leaders today encourage or even tolerate widespread initiative from below as envisioned in Jobs With Justice if it becomes very strong and independent?

New strike tactic a hit in Oregon

Since the head-on confrontation of strikes is not always working well for labor, some unions are searching for new tactics. In late September the Oregon Public Employees Union (a 13,000-member local of the Service Employees) successfully conducted a "rolling strike" that won an improved contract with minimum cost to workers. Most impor-

tant, union leaders think it greatly energized the members for future actions.

Here's how it worked: State workers were told that they would not go out on strike all at once but would hit different targets at different times, with no workplace staying out on strike for more than three days. But they would not know until the night before when they would strike, so that management would be surprised and services disrupted as much as possible.

The whole strategy was implemented by a "flying squadron" of 350 workers from across the state (some officers plus "the good people who make things go," according to union spokesman Bentley Gilbert). They stayed out during the entire nine-day strike, moving from work site to work site to set strikes in motion. One day they unexpectedly moved into a large office building in Portland in mid-morning. They started blowing their whistles on the top floor, then quickly moved through the building. After clearing it out, those workers joined squadron members in shutting down a nearby university.

The tactic "was a response to the notion that public employees can't have the same impact as a private employee because revenue keeps coming in," Gilbert said. "Also, we thought the governor was willing to take a strike of some length. We didn't want a general strike and have it peter out."

The long-term victory may exceed contract gains, some of which—like a workload review—require continued vigilance. "The change it has wrought in the union and membership in terms of well-being, self-respect and power is showing through already," Gilbert said. "People are feeling for the first time in some cases like they took control of their lives."

Brocka

Continued from page 24

associated with the left." When prestigious filmmaker Ishmael Bernal (whose *Manila by Night* was long suppressed by Marcos) produced a documentary on the problems of urban poverty, the new head censor banned the film for lack of "balance."

Brocka and other leading filmmakers are shaping the agenda of an industry coalition. One of their primary goals is to get the government out of film classification. And unlike many Third World filmmakers, they are not eager to capture government funds for the film industry. They don't trust any administration not to meddle.

The coalition pulls together not only artists of the kind Imelda Marcos disliked, but many she did like. In fact, the coalition was originally called by Ferdinand Marcos in an effort to win industry support for his last electoral campaign. The old guard has now become an internal opposition. "Most of them realize they're identified with the past administration, so they're bending over backward to deal with us," Brocka says. "We might as well take advantage of our credibility at the moment."

And "moment" is the word. The next governmental shakeup could cancel not only the day's shoot—if Brocka can't get out of his house because of tanks circling the TV station—but also initiatives to give filmmakers more freedom. And Brocka's own filmic aspirations ride on the roller-coaster of box office receipts for schlock. The one constant in an unstable world, it seems, is the enduring appetite of Filipino audiences for escape on the screen.

©1987 Pat Aufderheide

THE GENERATION AFTER

Help stop Nazi activities in New York

1. We stopped the sale of Nazi newspapers on 86 St. in Manhattan.
2. We stopped the selling of Hitler T-shirts at a major Times Square store, after all other Jewish organizations gave up on it. We cleaned out this garbage from our city.
3. We organized the only public protest against Kurt Waldheim in the center of N.Y.C. Federal Plaza (Speaker—Elizabeth Holtzman).
4. We monitor most neo-Nazi newspapers in the U.S.
5. Demonstrated at all hearings for deportation of Nazi criminals in front of New York courts.
6. We maintain a speakers bureau, help organize Holocaust memorial events and expositions for colleges and other interested institutions.
7. Demonstrated against Apartheid and the South African racist regime, work for human rights everywhere, including Ethiopia, Soviet Union, El Salvador, Guatemala.
8. We organized the only public anti-Bitburg protest demonstration in front of the Federal building in N.Y.C.
9. Exposed the anti-Semitic leaders of the Columbia Tenants Union and brought them to trial.
10. Unmasked the Lyndon LaRouche movement with its anti-Semitic and neofascist characters. We had two demonstrations in front of LaRouche's office.
11. We work for human rights and social justice which will make anti-Semitism impossible, and racism a reminder of the dark ages.

AS YOU CAN SEE, WE HONOR THE HOLOCAUST
MARTYRS THROUGH DEEDS, HARD STRUGGLE,
NOT EMPTY RHETORIC.

IF YOU DO CARE, THEN WE ASK FOR YOUR HELP

CUT OUT AND MAIL
YOUR CONTRIBUTION IS TAX-DEDUCTIBLE

An unforgettable gift for new members or donors of \$18 or more. "THE CHILDREN WE REMEMBER" a hard cover book depicting the martyrdom of Jewish children, their life and death under the Nazis. A most valuable addition to your library. (Retail at \$9.45.)

☐ Enclosed is a check for

Make out check to: THE GENERATION AFTER and mail to:
Box 364, Baychester Station, New York, N.Y. 10469. Tel.: 231-1196

Name: _____ Tel: _____

Address: _____ Zip: _____

SUBSCRIBER SERVICES

If applicable affix your mailing label here.

I AM:

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY STATE ZIP _____

☐ MOVING.

NEW ADDRESS _____

CITY STATE ZIP _____

If possible affix your mailing label to facilitate the change. If no label is available be sure to include both the new and OLD zip codes with the complete addresses. Please allow 4 - 6 weeks for the address change.

☐ **SUBSCRIBING.** Fill out your name and address above and we will have IN THESE TIMES with news and analysis you can't find anywhere else in your mailbox within 4 - 6 weeks. Check price and term below. **ASTN7**

☐ **RENEWING.** Do it now and keep IN THESE TIMES coming without interruption. Affix your mailing label above and we will renew your account to automatically extend when your current subscription expires. Check price and term below. **ARST7**

☐ **SHOPPING.** Give an IN THESE TIMES gift subscription. It makes a perfect gift for friends, relatives, students or associates. Fill out your name and address above and name and address of recipient below. A handsome gift card will be sent. **XSTH7**

NAME OF RECIPIENT _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY STATE ZIP _____

PRICE / TERM

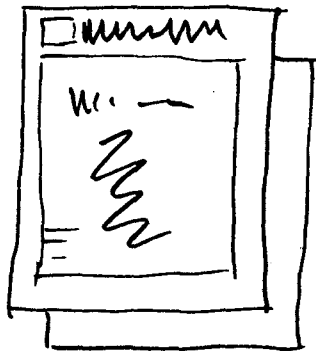
- ☐ One year: \$34.95
- ☐ Six months: \$18.95
- ☐ Student/retired, One year: \$24.95
- ☐ Institutional, One year: \$59.00
- ☐ Payment enclosed
- ☐ Bill me later
- ☐ Charge my VISA/MC

ACCT. NO. _____

EXP. DATE _____

Above prices for U.S. residents only. Foreign orders add \$13 per year.

In These Times Customer Service
1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, Illinois 61054
1-800-435-0715; in Illinois 1-800-892-0753



HELP WANTED

ALTERNATIVE JOBS/INTERNSHIP opportunities! The environment, women's rights, disarmament, media, health, community organizing and more. Current nationwide listings—\$3. Community Jobs, 1516 P St., NW, Box 1029, Washington, DC 20005.

UNION ORGANIZERS. PACE, Professional And Clerical Employees of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union seeks energetic, dedicated people to organize white-collar workers in various metropolitan areas. Driver's license, willingness to travel required. Spanish language, clerical skills useful. Send resume, preferred location to Ann Hoffman, 1710 Broadway, NYC 10019.

ORGANIZER/LEGAL ADVOCATE. Teamsters for a Democratic Union, the rank and file movement in the Teamsters Union, is hiring someone with working knowledge of health/safety and labor laws, and organizing skills. Job is based in Washington, DC. Responsibilities: coordinate TDU Legal Network, organize TDU local chapters. Preference given to attorneys. Salary negotiable depending on experience. To apply, call or send a letter and resume to: TDU, P.O. Box 10128, Detroit, MI 48210, (313) 842-2600.

UNION ORGANIZER—The Chicago Homecare Organizing Project is a grass-roots union made up of low-wage workers in the service industries. Full-time organizing positions available for individuals committed to the dignity and respect of low-wage working people. Salary and benefits. Will train. Call Myra, (312) 939-7491, for interview, or send resume to SEIU Local 880, 410 S. Michigan, 4th Fl., Annex, Chicago, IL 60605.

STUDY SPANISH IN NICARAGUA

4 hours of classes daily. Meetings with political leaders. Family living and community work. Apply now for August, September and October sessions. Call (212) 777-1197 or write to Casa Nicaragua, 653 Broadway, Room #105, New York, NY 10003.

CLASSIFIEDS

ACORN NATIONAL PUBLICATIONS Director. ACORN is a national grassroots organization dedicated to building power for low and moderate income people. Director edits leadership and membership publications for ACORN. Must have excellent writing/editing skills; previous organizing experience helpful. Send resume and writing sample to Bill Klinke, ACORN, 401 Howard Ave., New Orleans, LA 70130. (504) 523-1691. Application deadline: Oct. 30, 1987.

TIRED OF COMPLAINING about current political trends? Organize poor people for social justice with ACORN. Call Craig, (312) 939-1458, 10-1 p.m.

MOBILIZE FOR JACKSON! New Hampshire Jackson campaign seeks committed, seasoned organizers. Expenses, room and board provided. Possible future remuneration. Steve, (603) 624-2412.

PUBLICATIONS

GAY COMMUNITY NEWS — "The gay movement's newspaper of record." Each week GCN brings you current informative news and analysis of lesbian and gay liberation. Feminist, non-profit. AND there's a monthly Book Review Supplement. Now in our 12th year. \$29.00 for the year (50 issues). \$17.00 for 25 weeks. Send check to GCN Subscriptions, Suite 509, 167 Tremont St., Boston, MA 02111.

JUSTICE BORK? In October 1983 and June 1984, Jamie Kalven provided readers of *The Nation* with a grounding in

the reactionary constitutional philosophy of Judge Robert Bork. Copies of this timely set of articles are now available for \$2 each; \$1.50 each for orders of 10 or more. If you want to know more about Mr. Bork's views, send your check or money order, payable to The Nation, to Box F, The Nation, 72 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011. (New York residents add sales tax.)

IS PEACE BREAKING OUT IN CENTRAL AMERICA? In *These Times*' special issue on the Central American peace negotiations includes in-depth reports on each country in the region. Reprints of the September 2-8 issue are on sale for \$3 each or 50¢ per copy for 25 copies or more. For more information, call Maggie Garb at ITT, (312) 472-5700, or send your order directly to: Special Issue, In These Times, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

ROCK & ROLL CONFIDENTIAL...From payola to politics, veteran rock critic Dave Marsh's 8-page monthly newsletter showers its wrath on the record industry, and its affection on the records. Get *Rock & Roll Confidential* at home. Send \$21 for one year to RRC, Dept. ITT, Box 1073, Maywood, NJ 07607. Sample copy \$3.

HEALTH PRODUCTS ■ **STOP SMOKING CIGARETTES** (one-day method) KIT \$5: Meditech. 3494 Washington, Cleveland, OH 44118.

EDUCATION ■ **CENTRAL AMERICA CARIBBEAN:** Travel Documentation. Cultural, historical, political studies in several countries. Spanish training. **SOUTHERN AFRICA:** Work in community development project Documentation. Swahili. Both nine-month programs begin Sept. 1, 1988. Include periods of preparation and presentation in North America. IICD, PO Box 1063, Amherst, MA 01004, (413) 549-5285.

PERSONALS ■ **CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER** links left singles, nationwide. Free sample. P.O. Box 555-T, Stockbridge, MA 01262.

ASSOCIATIONS ■ **THE OCCUPATIONAL APPROACH** to world peace. Your opportunity for worldwide linkage. The Global Party, Box 7623, Myrtle Beach, SC 29577.

VOLUNTEERS

ITT NEEDS VOLUNTEERS in the Business Dept. Gain political/practical experience in a stimulating environment. Flexible hours available between 9-5, Mon.-Fri. Benefits include staff subscription rates, ping-pong. Call Hania at (312) 472-5700.

TYPESETTING ■ **CONCERT TYPOGRAPHERS** shares your interest in social change...Our profits help support *In These Times*. Concert Typographers provides excellent, fast typesetting with individual service and spirit. Put your typesetting dollars to work for social change. Call (312) 472-5700. Ask for Sheryl Hybert. Or write for our FREE brochure: 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. Member CTU, No. 16.

SCHOLARLY BOOKLET PROVES JESUS NEVER EXISTED! Conclusive proof Romans (Flavius Josephus) created fictional Jesus, Gospels. AMAZING but Absolutely Incontrovertible! Send \$4 to Reuchlin Foundation, Box 5652-J, Kent WA 98064. SASE for details.

CALENDAR

Use the Calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of ITT Calendar.

CHICAGO

October 11
Situationist International discussed—Sunday, October 11 at 7:00 p.m. New World Resource Center, 1476 W. Irving Park Rd.; Post-modernism—Oct. 25; Surrealism and Revolution—Nov. 8; Wilhelm Reich and Sexual Revolution—Nov. 22. Sponsored by the Cultural Revolution Series of the Open University of the Left. More information: (312) 924-1036.

October 30-31
Underground Railway Theater of Boston: "Sanctuary: The Spirit of Harriet Tubman." Play celebrating Underground Railroad of 1850s and, today from Central America, with live music, puppets, masks. Athenaeum Theater, 2936 N. Southport, 8:30 p.m. \$10/\$5 seniors, students, unemployed. Ticket Master (559-1212) or Northside Sanctuary Consortium (436-5046).

October 31
Democratic Alternatives for Illinois Conference to shape strategies for 1988 Democratic Convention. Speakers include Mayor Harold Washington and Michael Harrington; variety of workshops exploring political strategies. October 31 at the Westin Hotel, 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. \$25 includes luncheon. Scholarships available. Reservations due October 16, call (312) 427-6262 for more information.

SAN FRANCISCO

October 23-24
"An Issue of Life or Debt," a conference

on the Third World Debt Crisis for activists, in solidarity with the Continental Day of Struggle Against the Foreign Debt declared by trade unionists of Latin America and the Caribbean. Key-note Speaker: Susan George, "The Human Impact of the Third World Debt." Panel presentations: "Military Intervention, Economic Intervention and the Debt"; "Life and Debt in the Rain Forest"; "Tribal Rights vs. the Debt"; "The Debt Crisis and the U.S. Economy"; "Women and the International Debt Crisis." Friday, October 23, 7:30 p.m. and Saturday, October 24, 9:30 a.m.-4:30 p.m. at University of San Francisco: Friday—Loan Mountain Campus Auditorium; Saturday—McClaren Conference Center. \$10-50 sliding scale. Presented by Project Abraco: North Americans in Solidarity with the People of Brazil, 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz, CA 95060. (408) 423-1626.

NATIONWIDE

October 23-26
"25 Years: Back to the Brink," 25th Anniversary of the Cuban Missile Crisis. National Mobilization for Survival is sponsoring nationally-coordinated regional actions at 8 key nuclear weapons installations, October 23-26. General Dynamics (New England), General Electric (Pennsylvania), Cape Canaveral, Honeywell (Minnesota), Rocky Flats, Sandia Labs, Hanford, Lockheed (N. California). Call MFS: (212) 995-8787.

CAMBRIDGE, MA

October 24
A conference on "Labor in the New Economy." Morning Plenary: New Strategies for Organizing. Afternoon Workshops: Worker Ownership; Unions and Social Movements; Community Responses to Capital Flight; Financial Leverage. Nationally known scholars and activists. For information, call HLS Labor Law Project (A Student Organization), (617) 495-4871.

IN THESE TIMES Classified Ads Grab Attention

...and work like your own sales force. Your message will reach 96,000 responsive readers each week (72% made a mail order purchase last year). ITT classes deliver a big response for a little cost.

Word Rates:	Display Inch Rates:
80¢ per word / 1 or 2 issues	\$22 per inch / 1 or 2 issues
70¢ per word / 3-5 issues	\$20 per inch / 3-5 issues
65¢ per word / 6-9 issues	\$18 per inch / 6-9 issues
60¢ per word / 10-19 issues	\$16 per inch / 10-19 issues
50¢ per word / 20 or more issues	\$13 per inch / 20 or more issues

All classified ads must be prepaid. Ad deadline is Wednesday, 14 days before the date of publication. All issues dated on Wednesday. Enclosed is my check for \$_____ for _____ week(s). Please indicate desired heading.

Advertiser _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Send to: IN THESE TIMES, Classified Ads, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

LIFE IN HELL

LIFE IN HELL

SCHOOL IS HELL
OR
THIS IS THE FIRST SEMESTER OF THE REST OF YOUR LIFE

BASIC RULES

- AVOID ADMINISTRATORS.
- SKIM THE REQUIRED READING. SKIP EVERYTHING ELSE.
- WRITE VAGUE, SPINELESS PAPERS.
- CRAM.
- BLOT OUT ANY KNOWLEDGE INADVERTENTLY ABSORBED IN CLASS DURING THE WEEK WITH BRAIN-DAMAGING DEBAUCHERY ON THE WEEKEND.

Q: WHEN DOES THE FABLED "SOPHOMORE SLUMP" BEGIN?
A: OCTOBER OF YOUR FRESHMAN YEAR.
Q: HOW LONG DOES IT LAST?
A: ANYWHERE FROM 6 MONTHS TILL DEATH.

LESSON 17: HOW TO GOOF OFF IN COLLEGE AS MUCH AS EVERYONE ELSE

FRESHMAN FAUX-PAS!! NEVER TALK ABOUT:

- HOW COOL YOU WERE IN HIGH SCHOOL
I WAS IN CHARGE OF THE REFRESHMENT COMMITTEE AND THE MURAL COMMITTEE AT THE SAME TIME!! CAN YOU BELIEVE IT?!!
- HOW MUCH YOU LOVE AND RESPECT YOUR PARENTS
MY MOM AND DAD CARE ABOUT ME SO MUCH THEY'VE PLANNED MY WHOLE LIFE FOR ME! IT'S GOING TO BE JUST LIKE THEIRS!!!
- HOW YOU NEVER HEARD SUCH FILTH BACK AT THE FARM
IF MY GRANDPAPA WERE HERE HE'D WASH OUT ALL YOUR MOUTHS WITH SOAP! AND THAT INCLUDES YOU, PROFESSOR!!!

SHOULD I JOIN A FRATERNITY OR SORORITY?

AREN'T THEY ALL JUST REACTIONARY, XENOPHOBIC ENCLAVES OF SUPERFICIAL CONFORMIST LITTLE SNOBS?
OH MY GOODNESS, NO!! GOING GREASE IS FUN!!! IT'S JUST LIKE SUMMER CAMP, ONLY WITH BEER, DRUGS, PARTIES, PRANKS, PRAPLING, AND HAZING. TRUE, THE ATMOSPHERE IS A BIT ANTI-INTELLECTUAL, BUT WHO GIVES A HOOT WHEN YOU'RE THROWING UP WITH YOUR OWN MIND?

FLIPPING OUT--THE 5 WARNING SIGNS

- 1 YOU STUDY INTENTLY FOR 3 HOURS BEFORE YOU REALIZE YOUR TEXTBOOK IS UPSIDE-DOWN.
- 2 YOU BEGIN LICKING YOUR CHOPS IN ANTICIPATION OF ANOTHER STARCH-FILLED CAFETERIA FEAST
- 3 IN THE MIDDLE OF A LECTURE, YOU LEAP TO YOUR FEET, POINT ACCUSINGLY AT THE TEACHER, AND SHOUT "AU CONTRAIRE, MON FRERE!!"
- 4 YOU OFFER TO DO YOUR ROOMMATE'S LAUNDRY BECAUSE YOU HAVE NOTHING ELSE TO DO.
- 5 YOU PLAY GUITAR IN THE DOOM STAIRWELL BECAUSE YOU HOPE TO MEET NEW PALS.

IF YOU FIND YOURSELF PLAYING FOOTBALL IN THE STUDENT LOUNGE MORE THAN ONCE, SEEK COUNSELING IMMEDIATELY.

IS COLLEGE HARD OR EASY?
IT'S EASY!
JUST REMEMBER THE 3 MAGIC WORDS:
SINK OR SWIM!!!

THE POLITICS OF SCHLOCK

By Pat Aufderheide

MELDA MARCOS NEVER LIKED LINO BROCKA. One of the Philippines' leading filmmakers, he kept winning international awards for socially-revealing films like *Jaguar*, *Bona* and his recent *Bayan Ko*.

But Mrs. Marcos didn't have to see more than the credits of *Bona*—the story of a slum girl with a crush on a film extra—before she told Brocka that the film didn't reveal the "good, the true and the beautiful" about the Philippines (see story, page 18).

"For her, nation-building meant showing a good image—that's why she always wore those diamonds," said Brocka, who spoke with *In These Times* at the Toronto Festival of Festivals in September. "But 70 percent of the Filipino people live below the poverty line. They wouldn't aspire to her diamonds—they aspire to food and shelter."

These days, Brocka's on the cutting edge of the politics of entertainment, and not only because his house sits across from a TV station that's been the regular site of coup attempts and demonstrations. He's a leader in groups such as Concerned Artists of the Philippines, which has worked since the last years of the Marcos regime to buck censorship. He's part of a film industry coalition group pushing for legal and regulatory reform. And he's also a spokesman for a national movement to disband right-wing vigilante groups and to aid victims caught in the crossfire. Even as he sips a morning coffee in a film festival hospitality suite, he notes that 23,000 more families have recently been uprooted by right-wing violence.

Day and night: Between entertainment and politics, the schedule can be back-breaking. "It's been demonstrations all day, shooting all night," he says. "That's how we made *Bayan Ko*. Sometimes the same policeman we had faced during the day would report to work on the shoot in the evening."

"I'd pray that the actors would get sick, just for two hours, when I was so tired I couldn't

stand it. I'd be so happy for even a slight rain, to justify cancelling a shoot. Your feet hurt after walking all day in a demonstration."

Brocka can get media attention for his causes, but it's not because of his international critical acclaim. It's because of his commercial success, in cranking out the four or five schlock films he makes a year in order to buy himself some clout to make his "personal," and less commercial films.

Take the film that made Brocka the top box-

office draw of last year—*If You Can Only Be Mine*. Like many other recent Filipino films, it is drawn from an illustrated comic book series ("a pre-sold audience") and is as ripe a soap opera as can be packed into two hours. Stripped of its more baroque subplots, the story is this: A wealthy woman falls in love with her employee, who remains true to his wife. So the woman kidnaps their baby and disappears to the U.S.; when she comes back, she offers to return the baby in return for the

husband in her bed.

Brocka has no illusions about the quality of the comics-movies that keep him working. He uses them, he says, to train writers, actors and technicians. "We're trying to make melodrama with a slightly different twist, so it doesn't come out so...pukey," he says. "And it's good not to get isolated from the audience. They're out there in the provinces, and I don't want them to say, 'Lino Brocka—he's only for Cannes.'"

Movie idols: Star-struck Filipinos compose one of the most avid movie-going audiences in the world and are the bulwark of the prolific (at least 150 films a year) Filipino film industry. "We're saint-worshippers and star-worshippers," Brocka says. "And there's not much difference—people can't discriminate any more, it's all idolatry. People need to hold onto something. I don't have anything against religion, but I don't want people to be fatalistic. I want people to move, to be responsible for their acts."

But Brocka understands the phenomenon. Calling himself a "Hollywood baby," he recalls his early fascination with escapist fantasy in American movies. "I used to watch Esther Williams swimming underwater, and I thought, Americans must be very special—they can breathe under water. I tried it, and it didn't work. I'd say to my mother, 'When I grow up, I want to be American. Americans are the ones who can breathe under water, they're the ones who win all the wars and they can swing from tree to tree.'"

It wasn't until Brocka went to the U.S. and, during summer break from college courses in Hawaii, went to work as a busboy in San Francisco that the movie-image finally lost all of its gloss. "I would look at these tall Americans and think, 'They go to work like ordinary mortals?' That's the power of film."

Watching European postwar films like *Nights of Cabiria* and *Forbidden Games* was a shock: "Those were films with no Fred Astaire, no happy ending. They were more like life. Here were people who were white, but they were real. They probably couldn't breathe underwater, either."

His own work draws from both traditions, but within rules of the economic game that are perfectly clear: "I have one producer who comes to me with an idea and warns me: 'Please, Lino—no awards. I can't eat awards.'"

Parties and cars: In the current political ferment audiences seem more eager than ever to go to the movies—and they're looking for escape. Producers are putting the industry into overdrive to meet demand for fantasies and melodramas.

"It's back to Ross Hunter films for us," Brocka says. "Films that are absolutely separate from what people are living in their lives. I give the producers their guns, their clothes, their parties, their Mercedes-Benzes—they really want those Mercedes-Benzes. I make myself so much in demand that they'll want to keep me and let me make a film of my own." He's finishing a new personal film, called *Macho Dancer*, destined to be controversial for its subject matter alone—it's about a dancer in a gay bar. "It's not artsy," he shrugs, "but at least it's off the beaten path."

From good to decent: "Much in the Philippines hasn't changed since Marcos fell," he says. "The new chair of the Board of Censors is walking in the footsteps of Imelda Marcos. We've gone from 'the good, the true and the beautiful' to 'the clean, the decent and the wholesome.' Cory is so religious, so moral, that we're swinging to the opposite extreme. They don't want to show the poor any more than before—that's

Continued on page 22

Philippine filmmaker Lino Brocka (far right) schmoozes at the Toronto Festival of Festivals.

Philippine filmmaker
Lino Brocka's
commercial clout
creates an opening
for more ambitious films.